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***Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem:*  
The Artists of Dionysos and the Emerging Cultural *Koinon***

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***Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem:***  
**The Artists of Dionysos and the Emerging Cultural *Koinon***

by

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This work is dedicated to the memory of Andrew Howard.

*S.T.T.L.*



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*A.M.D.G.*

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In the Hellenistic period, performing artists formed powerful associations that called themselves “the artists in the entourage of Dionysos” (οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται). These associations comprised actors, musicians, poets, and other theatrical professionals who organized, promoted, and performed in local festivals in order to bring them to international distinction. As wielders of substantial cultural capital, their involvement with these local festivals attracted the patronage and support of cities, kings, and international sanctuaries. Through their carefully cultivated relationships with these various political bodies, the *technitai* developed four powerful regional associations based in Athens, Isthmos and Nemea, Ionia and the Hellespont, and the Ptolemaic kingdom. These larger associations, drawing on their expansive political power, adopted the institutional model of states: like *poleis*, they issued decrees through official magistrates, owned property, entered into synoikism with other cities, dispatched their own ambassadors and *theoroi*, and even minted their own coins on an international standard.

Rather than explain these phenomena as the byproduct of a larger geopolitical shift in the wake of Alexander's conquests, this dissertation argues first that the conditions that gave rise to the artists occurred as early as the fourth century BCE, when greater public acclaim for, and royal patronage of, performing artists is first evident in Athens and Macedonia, leading to the mobile entourage of artists who attended Alexander's eastern campaign. Second, the dissertation argues that the *technitai* were not merely byproducts of the so-called "agonistic explosion" of the Hellenistic period but instead were active cultural agents whose activity shaped the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* by helping to create competing and collaborating festival networks. This is demonstrated in Chapters two through four, which examine the case studies of the Greek mainland, Ptolemaic Egypt and Cyprus, and Asia Minor, respectively.

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## **Introduction**

In the Hellenistic period, associations of performing artists and theatre professionals appear for the first time in the epigraphic and literary record. Styled as “the artists in the entourage of Dionysos” (οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται), these groups of actors, poets, musicians, chorus members, mask makers, and costumiers organized, promoted, and performed in festivals throughout the Mediterranean. Their political value was quickly realized by cities, sanctuaries, and kings alike, with whom the artists formed important euergetical relationships by adopting the institutional model of semi-independent states. Like *poleis*, the associations of artists had intricate internal hierarchies, owned property, dispatched and received ambassadors and *theoroi*, appointed *proxenoi*, issued decrees, and in one case minted a coin on a widely-circulating standard.

The ancient testimony for the rise of these associations lends a mythical aura to the artists and their protection by their patron god. In a discussion about the attributes of Dionysos, Diodoros relates the following myth about the god’s connection to the artists (4.5.4-5):

καθόλου δὲ τοῦτον τῶν θυμελικῶν ἀγώνων φασὶν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι, καὶ θέατρα καταδείξαι, καὶ μουσικῶν ἀκροαμάτων σύστημα ποιήσασθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀλειτουργήτους ποιῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μεταχειριζομένους τι τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμης· ἀφ’ ὧν τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους μουσικὰς συνόδους συστήσασθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, καὶ ἀτελεῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντας.

On the whole, they say that this one (Dionysos) is the founder of thymelic contests, and that he revealed venues (“theaters”), and that he created an organization of musical performances. Beside these things, (they say that) he made free from liturgy those in his campaigns who practiced any sort of musical knowledge. From these (they say

that) later generations formed musical *synodoi* of the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and made those who are practiced in such things free from taxation.

This *aition* introduces an important form of privilege that the Hellenistic associations enjoyed: *ateleia* (tax exemption), which allowed the artists to travel more freely between city-states in order to perform at various festivals. This guarantee was typically granted by some of the most powerful individuals and groups in the Mediterranean, including the Ptolemaic kings and the Delphic Amphictyony.

In addition to tax exemption, the artists also typically enjoyed guarantees of physical security (*asphaleia*) and freedom from seizure (*asylia*) by virtue of their connection to Dionysos. This is illustrated, if somewhat gruesomely, in an anecdote from Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* (11.19.19-20), which tells the story of an unfortunate Spartan, Pantakles, who learned that the god's justice worked not just through human institutions but through nature itself:

χρηται δὲ ἅμα ἐς τιμωρίαν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ζώοις ἡ Δίκη. καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, Παντακλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστεύλας διὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐς Κύθηρα ἀπιόντας τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, εἶτα καθήμενος ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διεσπάρθη

Justice at the same time uses animals as servants in punishing impious men. And (here is) the proof: Pantakles the Lakedaimonian, having prevented those of the artists in the entourage of Dionysos from going through Sparta who were on their way to Kythera, later sitting down in the court of the ephors was torn apart by dogs.

These well-protected and recognized associations emerged as part of a broader phenomenon: the so-called “agonistic explosion”, a proliferation of new and reformed festivals that increased contact between Greek cities and helped to create the Hellenistic

period's distinctive cultural *koinon*.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the third century BCE, four regional associations emerged whose activity spanned much of the eastern Mediterranean: the *koinon* from Isthmos and Nemea on the Greek mainland, the *synodos* from the city of Athens, the regional *koinon* from Ionia and the Hellespont, and the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the Ptolemaic rulers in Egypt and Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

This study focuses on two interrelated questions. First, how and why did the artists first come to form these powerful associations? Second, what was their cultural and socio-political role in the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic period? In answer to the first question, the first chapter of this study demonstrates that the fourth century BCE saw a rise in the cultural capital of performing artists, particularly in Athens, where actors began to earn greater acclaim and wealth at the *Dionysia* and served on important diplomatic missions. Their increased value was perceived in particular by the Macedonian dynasty, which patronized Athenian artists along with other artistic talent from Greek city states as an expression of the court's Hellenic identity and political power. These conditions laid the foundation for Alexander's mobile entourage of artists who followed him on his campaign, much like the mythical artists who accompanied Dionysos' eastern conquest according to Diodoros.

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<sup>1</sup> On the "agonistic explosion", see van Nijf 2013, 329. It is worth noting that the term "agonistic explosion" was first coined by Robert (1984, 36-9) to describe the proliferation of festivals in Asia Minor during the Imperial period, though the roots of this phenomenon have since been explored in the Hellenistic period throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to these four associations, we have scattered fragments attesting to associations in Sicily and Rhodes, but the evidence is too sparse to consider the groups in great detail, and so I restrict my focus to the four better-attested associations.

In answer to the second question, the second, third, and fourth chapters articulate the different ways that the four associations wielded their cultural capital to form distinct cultural networks. In some cases, as with the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina*, the associations would collaborate to form larger networks to provide international promotion, organization, and performers for local festivals. In the case of the Athenian association, Athens used the cultural capital of its *synodos* as part of the city's bid to reclaim its exclusive place as the cultural center of the Greek world in the late second century BCE through the *Pythaid* festivals. The Ptolemaic association, in contrast, formed its own cultural network by collecting an international array of talent at Alexandria that was part of the Lagid dynasty's cosmopolitan display of cultural and political power. Its outer branches in Upper Egypt and Cyprus, boasting their exclusive ties to the court at Alexandria, formed important euergetical relationships with local elites on behalf of the royal family. As Roman political control expanded eastward in the second and first centuries BCE, the regional associations secured their privileges under the new Roman authority, leading to the eventual creation of a single "global" association in the Julio-Claudian era that reflected the integration of the eastern Mediterranean's cultural networks under the early Roman empire.

## I. The Nomenclature of the Associations: *koinon* vs. *synodos*

Before continuing with an examination of the central thesis of this project, it will be useful to discuss briefly the terms that the associations used to identify themselves, as they may offer a partial glimpse into their internal organization and their institutional relationships with one another. Scholarly attempts to settle on a single term for these groups have yielded strikingly varied results: “a state within a state”, “guilds”, “troupes”, and “trade unions”, to name a few.<sup>3</sup> For this study, I will use the term “association” when referring to a group of *technitai* unless a more specific term (*koinon*, *synodos*) is required by a specific ancient reference.<sup>4</sup> The confusion over terms is partly the result of the fact that the associations themselves used various markers of identification, at times calling themselves *koina*, *synodoi*, or even simply “the artists” (οἱ τεχνῖται) in their documents.<sup>5</sup> In general, the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine artists tended to refer to their associations as *koina*, whereas the Athenian artists more often referred to their group as a *synodos*. The Ptolemaic artists, on the other hand, preferred the title οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον [+ Ruling Pair] τεχνῖται, though in one instance they referred to their membership as a κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν (*OGIS* 51, 14-15).

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<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Csapo’s review of Le Guen 2001 in *BMCR* 2002.07.26

<sup>4</sup> In this respect I partly follow the terminology used by participants in the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies seminars, who developed the relatively neutral term “voluntary associations” to encompass all of these groups as well as other religious bodies (e.g., synagogues and mystery cult groups) that may be attributed to the “fenomeno associativo” (Wilson 1996, 1).

<sup>5</sup> Variability in nomenclature was typical of voluntary associations in the Greco-Roman world. See, e.g., the index in Harland et al. 2011 for the nomenclature of the associations in their corpus.

In his early monograph on the artists, Poland argued that the Athenian *synodos* originally constituted a branch of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, and that the term *synodos* was generally used to identify smaller subsets of a larger *koinon* of artists from multiple communities.<sup>6</sup> Ziebarth, however, called attention to the independent character of the Athenian *synodos* as expressed in, e.g., *F.D.* III.2.68, 61-94, and argued that its members belonged to a fully independent association that was never subject to the decisions and hierarchy of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, or any *koinon* for that matter.<sup>7</sup> Poland later amended his view to suggest that the terms *koinon* and *synodos* were used inconsistently.<sup>8</sup> Both Le Guen and Aneziri, in their recent monographs, understand the terms to be interchangeable, and their view has held sway since.

The question of how to distinguish *koina* from *synodoi* is a familiar one from studies of voluntary associations on Delos in the Hellenistic period. The rich epigraphic dossier of the island documents several associations that refer to themselves by these and

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<sup>6</sup> Poland 1895, 6. He cites the *senatus consultum* that resolved a dispute between the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations, arguing that the Athenian *synodos* was once a subsidiary branch of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (*F.D.* III.2.70, 112/1 BCE).

<sup>7</sup> Ziebarth 1896, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Poland 1909, 130-4.

other terms, leading to a wide variety of translations by scholars.<sup>9</sup> McLean argued that the terms indicated distinct tiers within a single association.<sup>10</sup> At the broadest level, he suggests, the term *thiasos* was generally used to indicate the most inclusive level of membership in these associations, and was social and cultic in nature. The term *koinon*, analogous to the civic assembly (= *demos*) of a *polis*, was used in reference to a large but more exclusive group of men (typically with a common ethnic) that performed deliberatory functions for the larger *thiasos*. The most exclusive term, *synodos*, referred to an executive subgroup with probouleutic authority within the *koinon*, analogous to the *boulē* of the Athenian democracy.<sup>11</sup>

While it would be careless to map this model directly onto the associations of *technitai* so as to argue that *synodoi* were always part of a larger *koinon* (as Ziebarth has already shown), McLean's observations should nevertheless caution against understand-

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<sup>9</sup> See McLean 1999, 362-3 for a summary. Durrbach 1921-22 understood the term *synodos* as indicating an *ad hoc* meeting of people (equivalent to the term *ekklesia*) rather than an organized subset within the hierarchy of an association (140-44, no. 85). McLean 1999 convincingly refutes this by showing clear indications that a *synodos* could and did refer to specific groups of people as (quasi-?) legal entities (362; he refers specifically to *IDelos* 1519, in which a patron is said to have contributed to both a *koinon* and the *synodos*: διατελεῖ ... κο[ι]νὴν τε τεῖ συνόδῳ, 7-8). Tod 1934, referring to the Berytian *Poseidoniastai* in *IDelos* 1520, argued that the terms *synodos* and *koinon* referred to the same body, though he later claimed that *koinon* refers to a more generic group of worshippers while *synodos* is a more technical term referring to a specific "association" (144). Baslez 1977 variably equates the *synodos*, *koinon*, and *sylogos* of the Berytian *Poseidoniastai* (*IDelos* 1520) to a civic *ekklesia* (= *demos*) without clarifying the relationship of these distinct groups to one another (207-8). In a later study, she amends her argument to reflect an understanding of the term *synodos* as a more inclusive community of contributors with a broader membership than a *thiasos* and fewer responsibilities and powers within the larger association (1988, 143). This, however, does not seem to accord with the several examples of *synodoi* issuing decrees and honors on behalf of an association (McLean 1999, 363-4).

<sup>10</sup> McLean 1999, 361. He studied four associations: the Heraklesiastai of Tyre, the Poseidoniastai of Berytos, an association of Greeks from Egypt, and the Dionysiac association of Amenichos (unrelated to the artists).

<sup>11</sup> McLean 1999, 365-6 (on the deliberatory function of both the *koinon* and *synodos*), 367-9 (on the membership of the *thiasos* in relation to the *koinon* and *synodos*).



ing the terms *koinon* and *synodos* as simply interchangeable. Thus, for example, I am more hesitant than Le Guen and Aneziri to attribute two third-century dedications from Athens by a *koinon* of *technitai* to the Athenian *synodos*.<sup>12</sup> While these attributions are understandable based on their provenance, it is possible that the *koinon* of *technitai* in either inscription may refer to a different association, such as the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* that had multiple branches located in several cities.

The effort to understand the institutional frameworks of the associations through their nomenclature is further frustrated by our understanding of the multi-scalar term *koinon*, which can either refer to an institution as large as a federal league (such as the Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon*) or to an association of individuals organized on a more local scale. The federal aspect seems to be reflected in the organization of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, which was particularly active in the territory of the Boiotian federation: the *koinon* had subsidiary branches in Argos and Thebes that adopted long titles announcing their membership in the larger *koinon* while singling out their location in an ending pred-

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<sup>12</sup> See Le Guen 2001 I, 62-4 and Aneziri 2003, nos. A1 and A2. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2230 (mid to late 3rd c BCE) records honors from “οἱ τεχνῖται” (18) for two artists, Sositheos and Sophilos, for their services rendered as *hieropoioi* to [τ]ῆς συνόδου τῶν | τεχνιτῶν (2-3) and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν (11-12). An even shorter honorific inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3211) records a dedication to the tragic poet Xenokrates from τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν (1).

icate clause.<sup>13</sup> The use of “*koinon*” to refer to a local association may be seen in an honorific inscription from the Ptolemaic association in Upper Egypt (*OGIS* 51), which refers to its own *koinon* of *technitai* “whose names are inscribed below” (14-15) -- a grand total of thirty-eight names belonging to the same association in Ptolemaïs-Hermaïou.

The use of *koinon* to refer to analogous groups at different institutional scales accords well with Ismard’s understanding of the term as roughly synonymous with the Roman use of *societas* in the Republican period.<sup>14</sup> The term, he argues, often referred to groups that had no “juridic personality” — i.e., groups that could not be brought to court as legal entities and that existed solely in the informal temporal and spatial parameters of their gathering.<sup>15</sup> In the case of the Isthmian-Nemean association, such informal groups may be understood when groups of artists in their ranks are referred to as “the ones who travel together” (συντελούντων) to Chalkis, Pieria, Opous, Helikon, Elis, and Thebes.<sup>16</sup> We ultimately lack sufficient evidence to determine whether the use of the term *koinon* or

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<sup>13</sup>Argos: *IG* IV 558 (114 BCE), 2-3, 39-40: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ συνόδου. (“The *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos from Isthmos and Nemea, of the *synodos* in Argos”). Thebes: *IG* VII 2484, 1-3 (mid to late 2nd c. BCE) and Le Guen 2001 TE 29 (= Roesch 1982 no. 42), 1-2 (2nd c. BCE). The title used for this group (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν Θήβαις) only indicates an association situated in Thebes without reference to a larger federal association. A similar dedication from Thebes (*IG* VII 2485, mid-2nd c. BCE), on the other hand, identifies a group that travels to Thebes from Isthmos and Nemea (τὸ κοινὸν...ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας συντελούντων δὲ ἐν Θήβαις), reflecting their membership to the larger Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. See d’Esurac 1990 for a discussion of similar patterns in the nomenclature of Roman *collegia* in the second century CE eastern Mediterranean (e.g., *fabri lignarii Lugudunenses*).

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Ed Harris for pointing me to this reference.

<sup>15</sup> Ismard 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Chalkis: *IG* XII 9 910, 1-4 (2nd or 1st c. BCE); Pieria: *IG* XI 4 1059, 1-2 (3rd c. BCE). See the restorations by Robert 1978 b, 424; cf. Le Guen 2001 I, 132. *IG* VII 2486, 1-3 (3rd or 2nd c. BCE). Opous: *IG* IX 1 278, 2-3 (2nd c. BCE); Helikon: Roesch 1982, no. 32, 8-11 and no. 6, 7-12; Elis: *I. Olympia* 405, 1-2 (1st c. BCE); Thebes: *IG* VII 2484, 1-3 (mid to late 2nd c. BCE) and *IG* VII 2485 (mid-2nd c. BCE)

*synodos* indicated a particular type of internal hierarchy or institutional structure, though we should refrain from seeing the terms as essentially interchangeable. Instead, it is best to read and interpret the use of these terms (particularly *koinon*) in each of its contexts.

## II. History of Scholarship

Scholarship on the Hellenistic *technitai* has sought monocausal explanations for the origins and functions of the associations.<sup>17</sup> Because the earliest evidence for the *technitai* dates to the third century, after the traditional “watershed” of Chaeronea in 338 BCE, scholars have long understood them to be a distinctly Hellenistic phenomenon, and have attempted to interpret their emergence as a byproduct of the changing geopolitical and cultural landscape of the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. The effects of this periodization can be seen in some of the earliest scholarship on the *technitai*. Paul François Foucart, in his 1873 *De collegiis scenicorum artificium apud Graecos*, wrote with contempt about what he understood to be groups that were complicit in subjugating their city-states to the Macedonian kings.<sup>18</sup> Otto Lüders, publishing in the same year, preferred to see the *technitai* as initially attempting to preserve the religious sanctity of the dramatic festivals and to maintain the traditional connection between *polis*- and theater culture of the Classical period. A later proliferation of such associations, in his view, devalued and degraded these noble intentions.<sup>19</sup> Both of these early views share the

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<sup>17</sup> These arguments have been thoroughly and helpfully summarized in Le Guen’s introduction to her monograph (2001 II, 10-11).

<sup>18</sup> Foucart 1873, 78.

<sup>19</sup> Lüders 1873, 60-1.

tacit assumption that the *polis* was, by the time of the appearance of the *technitai*, in decline — and with it, so too was the theater industry.<sup>20</sup>

This “declinist” view of the *polis* has long since been rejected by historians, and the current *communis opinio* follows the work of scholars such as Louis Robert who, citing the continuity of civic institutions and the diversity of Hellenistic city-states, emphasized their continuing and evolving vitality.<sup>21</sup> Le Guen (1995, 59-80) has accordingly amended our understanding of post-Classical theater to see it as a vital institution that reflected this changing view of the Hellenistic *poleis*. In support of her argument, she cites among other things the increased number of dramatic festivals, the greater number of stone theaters built in cities throughout the Mediterranean region, and the proliferation of theatrical iconography in material culture as evidence of the continuing importance and centrality of theater in public life. Still, even with the rejection of the view that theater and its political relevancy were in decline along with *polis* culture on the whole, scholars have continued to seek an impetus for the formation and development of the *technitai* associations in the cultural and political milieu of the age of the successors.<sup>22</sup>

Most current explanations for the rise of the *technitai* associations rely on a neo-classical economic model that sees the associations as forming the supply to meet a sharp

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<sup>20</sup> Lightfoot 2002 summarized the persistence of this view in scholarship as follows: “On the traditional view, drama underwent nothing but decline from the fourth century onwards. The polis had been swallowed up by the Hellenistic kingdoms; drama, especially tragedy, was the self-expression of the polis; therefore... [sic] and there is hardly any need to complete the syllogism.” (209)

<sup>21</sup> See Ma 2009, 371-2 for a summary of this literature.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 167-8, who argues that the *technitai* associations resulted from larger political and social changes that marked the transition to the Hellenistic period.

increase in demand for artists. For Le Guen, the greater number of festivals attested for the period (which she previously argued to be evidence of theater's continuing vitality) supports this argument:

Il paraît plus juste de rappeler que l'époque se caractérise par une explosion de fêtes de toutes sortes: elles furent organisées aussi bien en l'honneur des divinités traditionnelles du panthéon que pour les nouveaux dieux, immortels et humains, et de plus en plus fréquemment à l'instigation même des chefs militaires victorieux (grecs et macédoniens, puis romains), pour célébrer leur succès. *Il s'ensuivit une forte demande en artistes. Pour y répondre au mieux, ces derniers furent contraints de s'organiser.* (Le Guen 2001 II, 10, emphasis mine)

In support of this view, she cites Robert's 1984 study of the widespread institution of "crowned" festivals in the mid-third through first centuries BCE,<sup>23</sup> a network of festivals whose special status was recognized by the *poleis* of the eastern Mediterranean and thereby brought greater prestige for the cities and kingdoms that hosted them. Crowned festivals, as opposed to "chrematic" festivals, offered no cash prizes for victory but only crowns, whose symbolic value was held to be more prestigious.<sup>24</sup> This phenomenon, however, generally post-dates the earliest activity of the *technitai*, which dates to the early third century,<sup>25</sup> and therefore cannot have served as the sole impetus for demand for artists' associations.

This same neoclassical model was more recently adopted by Edward Harris in a talk delivered at the Classical Association meeting in 2013. In it, he argues that the asso-

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<sup>23</sup> Le Guen 2001 II, 10 n. 33

<sup>24</sup> On the institution of "crowned" festivals, see Chaniotis 2011, 22.

<sup>25</sup> Note, for instance, that Robert 1984 dates the "agonistic explosion" to the imperial period (see above).

ciations cut down on the “transaction costs” for *poleis* such as Athens, especially in the wake of Demetrios of Phaleron’s sumptuary laws, which included the abolishment of the institution of the *choregia* system that was once responsible for funding and recruiting performers at the festival. In effect, Harris understands the groups as “one stop shops” that could provide all the needs required to put on a festival performance.<sup>26</sup>

While this economic model may appear to provide a sufficient explanation for the rise of the artists’ associations, if we look further into the evidence from the third through first centuries, the explanatory power of this economic approach has its limits. First, the picture that is created by this model — of expert performers who organized in a new era of festivals created seemingly *de novo* — overlooks that some of the entities creating these festivals (the Ptolemaic and Attalid dynasties in particular) had control over *their own* associations of *technitai* who provided the resources for the festivals they sponsored — in essence, then, they would be seen as simultaneously creating their own supply and demand.<sup>27</sup> In the case of the Athenian association, there is no evidence to show that the group was contracted to supply performers from its ranks for the city’s premier dramatic festival, the City *Dionysia*, after the abolition of the *choregia*. In fact, the association’s main activities appear to have taken place *outside* of Athens at other venues, particularly at Delphi for the *Pythaid* and *Soteria* festivals, and notably at the court of Ariarathes V in Cappadocia on special invitation by the monarch. In the case of the Isthmian-Nemean

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<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Harris for sharing his talk with me. See Wilson 2000 on the *choregia*.

<sup>27</sup> See discussion of the *Agrionia* and *Mouseia* festivals in Chapter 2 and Ionian network of festivals in Chapter 3.

*koinon*, their association was specifically sought out by Thespiiai in order to help elevate and organize the *Mouseia* into a “crowned” festival, a function that was also carried out by the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* for the *Leukophryeneia* at Magnesia on the Maeander in the late third century BCE.

Even if a proliferation of festivals during this period did result in a general increase in the demand for artists, however, it is not self-evident that the associations — whose political networking and religious activities extended well beyond their performances on stage — were formed solely to meet this demand. Although the regional associations were no doubt quite active at many festivals, individual artists continued to offer their services to perform at festivals without having membership in any of the associations.<sup>28</sup> In other words, it was by no means a prerequisite to belong to one of the associations in order to compete at the dramatic festivals. We should therefore not understand the associations as merely a response or byproduct to a supposed demand created by the proliferation of festivals.

Nowhere are the limitations of these approaches clearer than in Le Guen’s conclusion to her summary of the previous scholarship. Though she does show some affinity for the notion that the Hellenistic period’s festival culture created a demand for organized artists (see above), she ultimately refrains from endorsing a single explanation for their formation, opting instead for an admission of *aporia* given the limited nature of the evidence:

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<sup>28</sup> Le Guen 2004.



Ces analyses toutefois, si elles rendent compte d'un contexte spécifique, ne nomment pas pour autant l'auteur du processus: artistes eux-mêmes (parmi lesquels certains auraient eu une autorité suffisante pour regrouper leurs collègues autour d'eux), cité, confédération, monarque? *Les sources, quant à elles, permettent-elles d'en décider? Rien n'est moins sûr.* (Le Guen 2001 II, p.11, emphasis mine).

The implicit search for a monocausal explanation for the origins of the *technitai* is also reflected in Csapo and Slater's earlier summary of the associations and their activity. Rather than relying on an economic explanation for the formation of the associations, however, they opt instead for a socio-political one: "If a single impetus is to be sought for the birth of the guild [sic], it would be the massive international sponsorship of the performers by the Macedonian kings who came to rule Greece and the Hellenistic rulers who followed them." (1995: 239). Csapo's later review of Le Guen's 2001 monograph further highlights royal patronage of *technitai* as a definitive feature of the associations: "The Attalids, Ptolemies, and Seleucids cultivated them [the *technitai*] as an essential mass-media link to their subjects" (BMCR 2002.7.16).

This begs an important question: why should we search for, or for that matter expect, a single impetus for the creation of the associations? Such an insistence contributes to a limiting view of the artists as more passive elements in their own history. This is not to say that the political elites of the Hellenistic period, the Diadochoi in particular, did not have a compelling interest in cultivating associations of artists (quite the contrary). However, such a deterministic, structuralist, and top-down perspective gives us a partial understanding of the role played by the artists' associations in constructing the festival cul-

ture of the eastern Mediterranean. The epigraphic and literary sources, in fact, emphasize a very *active* and constructivist role in which the *technitai* shaped their own development through their complex relationships with political elites and with one another. In other words, while the patronage of royal courts may have had a considerable role in the early history that led to the formation of the *technitai* associations, it should not be seen as the sole catalyst.

Le Guen and Aneziri's recent monographs, each with an updated corpus of inscriptions, have provided much-needed updates to the previous collected editions of Poland from more than a century earlier.<sup>29</sup> Their chief contributions have been in gathering the various sources for the *technitai* into a single work while identifying some of the key questions that continue to be raised about the associations. These overlap considerably in both works. Both authors, for instance, devote a significant portion of their respective works combing through their epigraphic *corpora* so as to summarize and discuss the evidence for the origins and development of the four regional associations, their finances, their internal hierarchies and officers, and their relationship to festival culture in the Hellenistic period.<sup>30</sup> For the most part, they agree in their observations, with the occa-

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<sup>29</sup> Le Guen 2001 and Aneziri 2003. Cf. the concordance in the epigraphic appendix. According to Csapo's review of Le Guen 2001 in *BMCR* 2002.07.16, the corpus of inscriptions related to the *technitai* grew by about 40% since Poland's publication in 1909.

<sup>30</sup> Origins and development: Le Guen 2001 II, 5-40 and Aneziri 2003, 21-124; finances: Le Guen 2001 II, 95-104 and Aneziri 2003, 169-202; internal hierarchies and officers: Le Guen 2001 II, 41-82 and Aneziri 2003, 125-67 and 203-65; festival culture: Le Guen 2001 II, 105-32 and Aneziri 2003, 266-90.

sional difference in nuance or emphasis that will be addressed as they come up in this study.<sup>31</sup>

In further situating the *technītai* in their cultural and socio-political context, this study supplements the work of Le Guen and Aneziri in two ways. First, it begins by looking to the evidence of the classical period and the fourth century in particular to identify the conditions that contributed to the rise of artists as active cultural agents prior to the formation of the four regional associations. Second, it emphasizes the active role that the artists' associations played in forming cultural networks through their organization of festivals, from promotion to performance. In so doing, I often refer to the "cultural capital" offered by the artists and the associations, a term that I derive from the work of the influential sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose notions of symbolic capital and their exchange in fields of human interaction are influential to this study, and which will be reviewed here briefly.

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<sup>31</sup> For a very thorough overview on where the two works agree and disagree, I refer the reader to Le Guen 2004. The two authors worked on their respective monographs without knowing about the other's project (Le Guen 2004, 280).

### III. Bourdieu and Symbolic Capital

It is important to note that while this study employs some concepts from Bourdieu's work in order to explore the origins and socio-political function of the associations, it is not, strictly speaking, a full Bourdieuan analysis of the associations. Nevertheless, it is necessary to define some of the terms and concepts from Bourdieu's work that will be applied in the subsequent chapters. The chief benefit of Bourdieu's approach in studying the relationship between institutions (such as the *technitai* associations) and their political and cultural environment is that it breaks free of the limitations of a "structuralist" vs "constructivist" dichotomy.<sup>32</sup> To do this, Bourdieu developed the important concepts of "field" and "habitus" to explain the dynamic relationship between social agents and their cultural and structural surroundings that both shape and are shaped by the agents' actions in practice. These concepts chiefly derive from his most well-known works, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste* (1984) and *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1991).

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu sought to explain the persistence and replication of the distinctions maintained between social classes in his native 20th century France. Rather than rely on a strictly Marxist notion of wealth (financial capital) as the sole basis for the resilience of this hierarchy, he argued that these divisions were more distinctly marked by differing notions of "taste" and their manifestations through the accumulation of legiti-

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<sup>32</sup> In his own words: "If I had to describe my work in two words . . . I would speak of 'constructivist structuralism' or 'structuralist constructivism' . . . By structuralism, or structuralist, I mean that there exists in the social world, and not only in symbolic systems (language, myths etc), objective structures, independent of the consciousness or the will of agents, which are capable of orienting or constraining practices and representations. By constructivism I mean that there is a social genesis to both schemes of perception, thought and action on the one hand, and social structures on the other." (Bourdieu 1987, 147).

mated forms of “symbolic capital”. Symbolic capital, in his view, incorporates several different subcategories, including social, political, and cultural capital, each comprising both material and non-material acquisitions that, in aggregate, marked one for distinction against his or her peers in a given society. Those that acquire more legitimated forms of such symbolic capital belong to the dominant class. Examples of such forms of symbolic capital may include (for example) a preference for classical music, a knowledge of fine wines, the accumulation of academic degrees, or a network of associates in powerful positions known on a first-name basis.

The concept of symbolic capital (of which cultural capital is but one form) is particularly useful in this project for two reasons: First, it expands upon the narrower Marxist sense of capital as the material results of production in order to examine how different individuals and institutions maintain a hierarchy of power with non-material exchanges in non-economic fields (such as festival culture or honorific practice). Second, while the transactions of symbolic capital often occur in the exchange of non-material resources (be they cultural, political or otherwise), they still follow a recognizable economic logic that can be systematically analyzed in a way that is partly familiar from traditional Marxist approaches to economic systems. This is possible because, as Bourdieu argues, an indi-

vidual's accumulation of one type of capital may be exchanged for another, and thereby forms a more concrete method for attaining greater distinction.<sup>33</sup>

One example of such an exchange with the *technītai* (which will be explored in greater detail later) is the guarantee of *asylia* from Delphi, the Amphictyony, and the Aitolian *koinon* for the Ionian city-state of Teos at the end of the third century (*F.D.* III. 2.134, 202/1 BCE). Teos was the home of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technītai* at the end of the third century BCE, by virtue of a considerable investment made by the city to purchase land for the artists along with other major concessions (*SEG* 2.580, 218-204 BCE). The presence at Teos of the *koinon*, which had previously been granted *asylia* by the Amphictyony (*F.D.* III.3.218 B, 6-8, ca. 237/6 BCE), served as a pretext for the new protections granted to Teos. Thus, we can trace in this history an exchange of financial capital for cultural capital in the initial settlement of the artists in Teos, followed by an exchange of the artists' cultural capital for the political capital of *asylia* for Teos.

By applying Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital to identify and articulate the systems of exchange in which the *technītai* took part, this study is able to trace the development of the associations as far back as the late Classical period, when the cultural capital of performing artists increased as a result of greater public acclaim at festivals and the

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<sup>33</sup> The field of American higher education provides a very familiar example of this type of exchange. An American high school graduate might opt to take on considerably greater student loan debt in order to attend a prestigious Ivy League university as opposed to a local community college in order to obtain a more widely sought-after degree (an exchange of financial capital for symbolic capital). The same student, upon graduation, may well expect to use his or her degree to form contacts with well-connected networks of alumni in his or her chosen field of employment (one form of symbolic capital for another, social capital). Ideally, by using his or her contacts in this network, the graduate may end up in more gainful employment at a wealthy company with a higher salary and the expectation that the former student loan debt had been a worthwhile investment (social capital to economic capital).

royal patronage of the Macedonian court. Though these points do not identify the precise moments in time when the associations formed, they more clearly identify the factors that were most important to their early formation and practice.

Second, by applying the notion of cultural capital to the systems of exchanges involving the four regional associations, we are able to identify and articulate different strategies for cultural legitimation and distinction by different associations and the cities and kings who patronized them. For example, the cultural capital of the Ionian-Hellespontine artists, who had a broad network of relations by virtue of their cooperation with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, was used with great effect by Teos to obtain much-needed guarantees of *asylia* in the late third century (see above). In another example, the participation of the Athenian *synodos* in the exclusively-Athenian *Pythaid* festivals at Delphi earned the city recognition from the Delphic Amphictyony as the cultural center of the Greek world in a long and flowery panegyric (*F.D.* III.2.69, 117/6 BCE).

Finally, the concept of cultural capital and of symbolic exchanges when applied to the *technitai* and their interactions with city-states, kings, and sanctuaries not only recognizes the socio-political utility of the associations for the states (as highlighted above) but also recognizes the agency that the artists themselves held in such activity, as they sought to obtain valuable privileges and protections in exchange for their services. The concessions made by Teos to bring the well-connected Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to their city were a great boon for the association, which retained a considerable amount of autonomy and financial control of their own festivals within the city. Similarly, the Athenian *syno-*

*dos*, while closely tied to the Athenian state, was able to form its own euergetical relationships, exchanging their cultural capital for privileges and benefits from different authorities, including King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 163-130 BCE), while the artists in Alexandria were granted an exemption from the city's *per capita* salt tax by the court in exchange for the cultural capital they brought to the city (*PHal* 1.260-5, mid-third c. BCE).



#### IV. Chapter Summaries

In order to explain the origins of these regional associations, my first chapter begins by looking to the fourth century BCE and traces the ways in which performing artists became instruments of substantial cultural capital due to the professionalization of their craft. This is seen both epigraphically in agonistic inscriptions and private funerary monuments and in the historic use of Athenian actors as political ambassadors, particularly in the city's ongoing negotiations with Philip II in the late fourth century. The chapter then explores the use of the artists' cultural capital by the Macedonian kings through royal patronage, which is contextualized in the ongoing hellenization of the Macedonian court from Alexander I to Philip II. This leads to the case study of Alexander the Great, whose ability to attract an entourage of artists from throughout the Greek world for multiple grand festivals and celebrations anticipates the four regional associations of the Hellenistic period that are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

The following three chapters focus on distinct regions and political contexts in which the *technitai* were active in order to assess their role in competing and collaborating cultural networks in the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. Chapter two provides a diachronic look at the activity of the mainland associations, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos*, in order to assess their socio-political function. The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, which was the more federal of the two associations, served two important functions. First, it ensured an international slate of performers for local festivals by networking with the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (which is considered

separately in Chapter 4). Second, it promoted itself as an important controlling node in the larger network of smaller festival hosts and the wider Greek *oikoumene* — in effect, to solicit their services in coorganizing a festival (such as the *Mouseia* of Thespiiai) was an important first step in attempting to have the festival recognized as prestigious through markers like “crowned” or “isopythian”, *vel sim*. In contrast, the Athenian artists, whose resurgence is documented in a second century epigraphic dossier largely centered on the exclusively-Athenian *Pythaid* festival celebrated at Delphi, derived their prestige from a cultivated notion of Athenian cultural autochthony, expressed poignantly in two paians inscribed on the walls of the Athenian treasury in 128/7 BCE. By the end of the second century, the relations between the two associations were strained by a decades-long legal dispute, resulting in a *senatus consultum* in 112/1 BCE that effectively gave pride of place to the Athenian artists over their rivals by virtue of their stronger diplomatic relationship with the Roman Senate in the dramatic geopolitical shift of the second century.

The third chapter pivots to the *technitai* of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt and Cyprus. The work of the artists’ association in Alexandria (their presumed headquarters) can only be inferred from literary sources, whereas the epigraphic sources provide a clearer picture of the activity of the associations’ outer branches in Upper Egypt and Cyprus. These inscriptions show that the outer branches of the association served as a political extension of the court itself by forming important euergetical relationships with local elites in Ptolemaïs-Hermaïou, Salamis, and Paphos on behalf of the royal family. The artists in Alexandria, on the other hand, contributed to the dynasty’s cosmopolitan

display of cultural prowess in its bid to be recognized as the new capital of the Greek world.

The fourth chapter examines the turbulent history of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, which reflected that of Asia Minor in the second century BCE. Its extensive network and ties to the Delphic oracle, by virtue of their cooperation with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, benefited Magnesia's bid to elevate the *Leukophryeneia* to a "crowned" and isopythian festival in 208 BCE. The *koinon*'s powerful network simultaneously drew the attention of Teos, which offered the association tax-free land and a privileged status within their city in order to aid their bid to obtain guarantees of *asylia* from various international bodies, including the Aitolians, Delphians, and the Delphic Amphictyony (*F.D.* III.2.134). The *koinon*'s expansion to include the Attalid cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* ("the ruler") after the Peace of Apameia (188 BCE) reflects the dynastic aspirations of the Attalid court to tap into the network that the Ionian artists had formed while simultaneously appending their own religious cult as an expression of cultural prowess. The activity of this larger *koinon* is explored through the career of its most famous member, Kraton son of Zotichos, whose close ties to the Attalid court are highlighted as influential factors in the *koinon*'s development during the early to mid-second century. The chapter concludes with an examination of the *stasis* between Teos and the artists, which is argued to have stemmed from the artists' desire to remain independent within the city (evidenced in part by the issue of an Attic-standard tetradrachm by "the

artists in the entourage of Dionysos”, see FIGURE 5) while Teos laid claim to the revenues raised from the festivals organized by the artists in their territory.

This study concludes with an epilogue looking to the figure of Sulla and his interactions with the artists in the east, which anticipates the eventual merger of the regional associations into a single “global” association of performers and athletes under a single Roman authority in the Julio-Claudian era. Sulla’s guarantee of protections for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Cos both recalls protections extended by Mummius to the artists and is later echoed in a letter from the emperor Claudius that reaffirms privileges to “the crowned sacred victors and their co-competitors from the *oikoumene*” (<τοῖς> ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερoneύκαις, στεφανείταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς, *BGU* 4.1074, 43 CE). This collective evidence shows that the emergence of a single “worldwide” association, patronized and protected by Roman emperors, speaks to the degree to which the eastern Mediterranean had become a fully integrated cultural network under the Roman empire, one that united the distinct regions that were represented by the four associations of this study, and one that was anticipated by the patronage of Mummius and Sulla during their eastern campaigns.<sup>34</sup>

The results of my research, as I show in these chapters, speaks to the versatility and multivalent power of the associations, whose cultural capital and networks were used

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<sup>34</sup> This is not to say that regional or even local identities within this network were erased: the negotiation between the Roman political infrastructure and local Greek entities in the imperial period has long been and continues to be fertile ground for scholarship. See, e.g., Alcock 1993 and 1997; van Nijf 1999, 2000, and 2001; Rizakes et al. 2001; the papers collected in Whitmarsh (ed) 2010; Gruen (ed) 2010; and Galli (ed) 2013; Morgan 2014; and van Nijf and Williamson 2015.

for international recognition and legitimation by cities, kings, and sanctuaries. When collaborating, as in the case of the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina*, the artists implemented a powerful network that was the envy of smaller city-states seeking security and recognition in a shifting political landscape. The more competitive and exclusive associations adopted different forms of legitimacy with their cultural capital — from the “metropolitan” appeal of Athens to its theatrical heritage, which was carefully cultivated as far back as the stewardship of the statesman Lycurgus in the late fourth century, to the “cosmopolitan” appeal of the Ptolemaic artists, whose international character at the new city under the patronage of the royal family effectively removed the need to network with the other associations in order to enhance the panhellenic prestige of its festivals and ceremonies. From all of these histories, it is clear that as festivals themselves were integral to creating *koinonia* among the Greeks,<sup>35</sup> then the artists who organized, promoted, and performed in them should be understood as politically potent cultural agents. Their competing and collaborating authorities within multiple cultural networks shows that cultural *koinonia*, not unlike modern globalization, was a contested and negotiated phenomenon in the Hellenistic period.

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<sup>35</sup> van Nijf 2013, 329.

## **Chapter 1: The Fourth Century: Artists as Instruments of Cultural Capital**

### **Introduction**

At the top of the south *anta* wall of the Treasury of the Athenians, which stands at a prominent bend in Delphi's sacred way, a pair of decrees inscribed by the same hand lists successive honors from the Delphic Amphictyony to the Athenian *synodos* of Dionysiac *technitai* (*FD.* III.2.68, 130 BCE). The earlier of the two decrees (lines 61-94 [Ep. Cat. 1]) dates to 279/8 BCE,<sup>36</sup> shortly after the sanctuary was miraculously saved from an attack launched by Brennus and the Gauls. It is the earliest text to attest to any of the four regional associations (those of Athens, Isthmos and Nemea, Ionia and the Helle-spont, and the Ptolemaic kingdom) whose histories will be taken up in the subsequent chapters.<sup>37</sup> The decree promises many high honors for the Athenian artists: they are to receive *asylia* (freedom from seizure), *ateleia* (tax exemption), *asphaleia* (security), and exemption from military conscription from all Greeks for all time (66-73). These were not purely symbolic gestures: any individual or *polis* found in violation of these provisions was subject to prosecution before the Amphictyony (79-81).

We have no evidence for the foundation of the Athenian *synodos* (or for any of the other regional associations), but their reputation and honors in the decree suggests that

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<sup>36</sup> An Athenian copy of the decree survives: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1132, 1-39 (279/8 BCE)

<sup>37</sup> See Le Guen 2001 I 60-1 for a discussion of the decree's date.

they may have existed for some time prior to it.<sup>38</sup> The *technitai* seem to have been known generally to Aristotle, who refers to them in two of his works.<sup>39</sup> In the *Problems*, he attempts to explain their infamously licentious behavior, which was so noteworthy that the performers served as a useful *exemplum negativum* for the students of the Lyceum:

Διὰ τί οἱ Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πονηροὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὅτι ἤκιστα λόγου σοφίας κοινωνοῦσι διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τέχνας τὸ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ βίου εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἀκрасίαις τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου εἰσὶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπορίαις ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ φαυλότητος παρασκευαστικά.

Why is it that the Dionysiac *technitai* are, for the most part, miscreants? Surely it is because they do not take part in reasoning or wisdom whatsoever, owing to the fact that they dedicate the greater part of their life to their necessary *technai*, and furthermore because they spend most of their life in incontinence, and the rest of the time at a loss, both conditions that are preparatory for baseness.  
(Arist. *Problems* 956b)

In the second reference, from the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle again uses the example of the *technitai* to explain that a speaker may apply a *metaphora* either to extol or to debase his chosen subject:

καὶ ὁ μὲν διονυσιοκόλακας, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τεχνίτας καλοῦσιν. ταῦτα δ' ἄμφω μεταφορὰ, ἢ μὲν ῥυπαινόντων ἢ δὲ τοῦναντίον

<sup>38</sup> Our earliest epigraphic evidence for professional *technitai* is an inscription from Eritrea (*IG* XII.9.207, 294-288 BCE) that stipulates wages and contracts for individual artists who would perform at the *Dionysia* and *Demetrieia* festivals at the four main cities of Euboea (Chalkis, Karystos, Eritrea and Oropos). The decree sets the payment for different specialists, which included *aulos* players, tragic and comic actors, and chorus leaders (12-17), and also set strict penalties for artists who failed to honor their contract by skipping a performance (42-9). At the end of the decree, in what appears to be a post-script, the artists are granted *asphaleia* and *ateleia* at each city for the duration of their stay during the festivals (64-74). According to Le Guen's calculations (2001 I, 55), the total cycle of performances at the eight festivals took place over one hundred sixty-one days. Because the decree does not refer to a single association, however, Le Guen (2001 I, 54) astutely concludes that the contract cannot be used as evidence for any of the four regional associations that would appear later in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>39</sup> To my knowledge, there is no secure evidence for the dating of either work.

[Another example of metaphors:] Those whom one might call “flatterers of Dionysos”, they themselves go by the term *technitai* (“artisans”). These are both metaphors, one disparaging them, the other doing the opposite. (Arist. *Rhet.* 3.2).

These passages offer us a colorful view of a group that by the third quarter of the fourth century had already carved out a distinct public persona in Athens.<sup>40</sup> In the *Problems*, Aristotle emphasizes twice that the *technitai* dedicate a majority of their lives to their *technai* (and vices), which suggests that they were not citizen amateurs recruited to perform on an annual basis, as was more typical in the fifth century. Their connection to “flattery” in the *Rhetoric* is further telling, as we know that dramatic performers in the fourth century were often attracted to perform at the courts of powerful kings and generals, most notably Alexander the Great, whose entourage was nicknamed the *Alexandrokolakes*, or “Alexander’s flatterers”.<sup>41</sup>

In order to contextualize the apparently sudden emergence of actors associations in the early third century, this chapter explores the fourth-century trends of professionalization and royal patronage that were pivotal to the development of the powerful and independent groups whose networks and activity spanned the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. These processes increased the cultural capital of performers through a greater public acclaim for their *technē*, which was evident in the addition of special competitions and festival prizes for performing artists and in the self-identification of actors by their chosen *technai* on

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<sup>40</sup> Both passages refer to the *technitai* in the plural, which may refer to artists more generally rather than the *synodos* honored by the Amphietyony in 279/8 BCE.

<sup>41</sup> Athenaeus 12.54.23; Bloedow 1998. See Ceccarelli 2004 on a possible connection to the purported *Dionysiokolakes* attached to Dionysius I of Syracuse.



private monuments. As emerging celebrities with a wealth of this cultural capital, theatre artists in Athens began to enjoy success in the field of politics, where they served as ambassadors during the city's negotiations with Philip II of Macedon. Simultaneously, the Macedonian kings, who were eager to participate in the field of Greek cultural politics, recognized the value of such performers and sought to establish themselves as patrons of Greek theatre by bringing Athenian performers and other famous artists from the Greek world to their courts in Aegae and Pella. These two ongoing processes, professionalization and royal patronage, spurred a cultural competition over the patronage and control of artists, a tension reflected particularly in Lykourgan Athens (338-322 BCE), a time when the city sought to reestablish itself as the cultural center of the Greek world through an ambitious building program that monumentalized the city's theatrical heritage.<sup>42</sup> This included, among other things, bronze statues of its most famous dramatic poets, some of whom (Euripides and Aeschylus in particular) had finished their careers and lived out their lives at royal courts in Macedonia and Sicily.<sup>43</sup>

This chapter focuses principally on fourth-century Athens and Macedonia, from which there is a preponderance of evidence for the cultural politics and struggle over artistic patronage during this crucial period.<sup>44</sup> This struggle, along with the general pro-

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<sup>42</sup> See Hanink 2014 for the Lykourgan era and Athenian theatre.

<sup>43</sup> See Hanink 2010 on the Athenian treatment of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles as icons.

<sup>44</sup> The bulk of material from, and scholarship on, this crucial period in Athens necessitates a foregrounding of Athenian evidence. It is important to note that evidence of Classical-era theater culture outside of Athens, as it continues to be unearthed in the decades to come, may dramatically alter our understanding of "Greek" theater industry in this period. See Boshier, ed. 2013.

fessionalization and public acclaim of theatrical *technai*, would have profound effects on the later Hellenistic associations that formed powerful connections with the political elites of their day. Looking to this formative context, this chapter begins by tracing the development of performance (specifically dramatic) as a distinct *technē* and profession in Athenian agonistic inscriptions and in the private monuments of actors in the Kerameikos cemetery. It then turns to the argument that this prestige attracted elite patronage, specifically by foreign tyrants, which resulted in the stereotype of *technitai* as “flatterers”. The entry of performing artists into the political field was cemented in their role as ambassadors during crucial negotiations with Philip II, which in turn led to their patronage by the Macedonian court. This development anticipates Alexander’s patronage of artists in his retinue during his Eastern campaign, during which he used Greek artists as a mobile form of cultural capital that adopted an Achaemenid form of processional display as described by Xenophon. This retinue of the *Alexandrokolakes* was an important analogue to the later associations.

## I. The Professionalization of Performance in Fourth-Century Athens

Aristotle's fourth-century picture of the *technitai* as professionals reflects what we know of the changing role of performers in the City *Dionysia* from the fifth to fourth century BCE in Athens. In another passage from the *Rhetoric*, he argues that the shift in public acclaim from poets to artists is consistent with the rising influence of orators in the political realm:

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄθλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ  
μειζὸν δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἀγῶνας, διὰ  
τὴν μοχθρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν (Arist. *Rhet.* 1403b.31-5)

These men [who master vocal delivery in volume, harmony and rhythm] take almost all the prizes from the contests. Just as actors now have greater influence than the poets, it is the same way in the political contests, due to the depravity of the citizens.

Our most detailed evidence for this shift comes from the epigraphic records of the city's dramatic festivals. These show that, beginning in the mid-fifth century, the city increasingly recognized and acclaimed the work of actors (*hypokritai*). Specifically, this evidence comes from three fragmentary inscriptions that chronicle the history of performers and victors at the *Dionysia* and *Lenaia*. These are conventionally known as the *Fasti* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318, after 346 BCE), the *Didaskaliai* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2319-24, ca. 289/8 BCE), and the Victors Lists (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325, ca. 278 BCE).<sup>45</sup>

### I.1. The *Fasti*, *Didaskaliai*, and Victors Lists

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<sup>45</sup> See Millis and Olson 2012 for the most recent editions and discussion of these texts, which complements Pickard-Cambridge's introduction to the documents (1988, 71-4).

The surviving fragments of the *Fasti*, which were inscribed beginning in the mid-fourth century BCE,<sup>46</sup> preserve entries of festival participants from 473/2 BCE to 329/8 BCE. For the first half of the fifth century, only the victorious *choregos* (a liturgical official who was responsible for financing one of the competing productions)<sup>47</sup> and tragic poet at the City *Dionysia* are recorded.<sup>48</sup> In the entry for 448/7 BCE (column iii, line 3), however, we find the first record of a victorious ὑποκριτής, Herakleides, whose name also appears at the top of the Victors Lists for tragic actors at the *Dionysia* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325B, line 2), suggesting that he was the first to receive an award designated for a performer at the festival. We also learn from the *Fasti* that the Athenians later added performances of an “old” tragedy to the festival program in 387/6 BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318 col. viii, line 8) and an “old” comedy in 340/339 BCE (col. xii, line 6). Both of these events would have highlighted the skills of an actor performing a play that was already known to the festival audience, either from a previous viewing or perhaps a reading, while productions of “new” works of tragedy and comedy continued to net awards for playwrights and *choregoi* as they had before.

The new attention given attention to the talent of the performers alongside the financial backers and authors of the works can be further deduced from the *Didaskaliai*,

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<sup>46</sup> The identification of one hand for all entries from 473/2 to 347/6 BCE suggests a *terminus post quem* of 347/6 for the inscription, after which the list was updated by a different hand (Millis and Olson 2012, 5). It is generally assumed to have once stood near the theater and *temenos* of Dionysos given its relation to the *Dionysia* festival, although its provenance is uncertain.

<sup>47</sup> See Wilson 2000 on the institution of *choregia* and its history.

<sup>48</sup> The fuller entries that followed recorded the victors at the City *Dionysia* in the following order: the eponymous archon’s name, the winning dithyrambic choruses (men’s and boys’ along with their *choregoi*), and the winning *choregoi* and poets in comedy and tragedy.

which were inscribed beginning in the early third century BCE.<sup>49</sup> This catalogue records the names of the winning *and* losing productions at the City *Dionysia* and *Lenaia* festivals, with extant entries that range from 421/0 to the late second century BCE. The list is thought to derive from Aristotle's own records of competitors at the *Dionysia*, and shows a later interest in cataloguing more of the participants in a given festival, as is shown in the format of the entries: following the eponymous archon, it listed non-competitive productions (satyr plays, "old" tragedies, and "old" comedies with the original playwrights' names and the current actors who performed in the revivals), followed by the competitive results (first-place poet with titles of plays and actor(s), second-place poet with titles of plays and actor(s), etc) and ending with the name of the festival's victorious actor.

The Victors Lists (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325), which were inscribed on yet another monument on the south slope beginning in the early third century, presumably near the theater and sanctuary of Dionysos, singled out winners for both tragedy and comedy at the two major festivals. What is particularly noteworthy of this record, which was inscribed on the interior walls of a large octagonal monument,<sup>50</sup> is that its eight lists were divided evenly be-

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<sup>49</sup> Reisch's suggestion that the entries were set up in a dedication by the *agonothetai* in 279/8 BCE on the South Slope remains widely (though tentatively) accepted. This would imply that the *agonothetai* intended for it to be regularly updated after their initial dedication. Apart from speculation, our best indication of the date for the inscription is its letter forms (Reisch 1907).

<sup>50</sup> See Millis and Olson 2012, 140 where they also note that the inscription seems to have been updated by multiple hands (140).

tween victorious playwrights and actors.<sup>51</sup> The format clearly suggests that the intention was to update the list: victors at each festival are listed in chronological order of their earliest victory, followed by the total number of victories that the artist won in that particular category and festival during his lifetime.<sup>52</sup> Because no productions or archon dates are given for any of these victories, it is impossible to deduce from this monument a narrow dating for any specific victory without referring to one of the other two records.

Thus, the value of the Victors Lists was not in providing the viewer with a chronological record of the festivals and their productions, but rather in measuring the artists comparatively against their predecessors and future generations of competitors.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> The eight lists were divided between the City *Dionysia* and *Lenaia*, and then further subdivided into victorious actors and poets in the genres of tragedy and comedy. In order to distinguish each catalogue, the following designations within the *IG* number are now conventional in scholarship:

- tragic poets (City *Dionysia*) = 2325A
- tragic actors (City *Dionysia*) = 2325B
- comic poets (City *Dionysia*) = 2325C
- comic actors (City *Dionysia*) = 2325D
- comic poets (*Lenaia*) = 2325E
- comic actors (*Lenaia*) = 2325F
- tragic poets (*Lenaia*) = 2325G
- tragic actors (*Lenaia*) = 2325H

<sup>52</sup> To give a modern analogy using the same format, a “Victors List” for the World Series of Major League Baseball would read as follows: “Boston Red Sox, 8; New York Giants, 5; Chicago White Sox, 3; Chicago Cubs, 2; Pittsburgh Pirates, 5; Philadelphia Athletics, 5...”

<sup>53</sup> It is particularly interesting to read this monument against the epigram of the Athenian playwright Astydamas (active in the first half of the fourth century BCE) that was inscribed on the base of his statue, in which he lamented that his work would unfairly be considered secondary to his predecessors:

εἴθ' ἐγὼ ἐν κείνοις γενόμεν, ἢ κείνοι ἄμ' ἡμῖν  
οἱ γλώσσης τερπνῆς πρῶτα δοκοῦσι φέρειν,  
ὥς ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐκρίθην ἀφεθεὶς παράμιλλος  
νῦν δὲ χρόνῳ προέχουσ', ὧι φθόνος οὐκ ἔπεται.

If I had lived in their day, or they in mine,  
those men who seem to bear away the first prizes in eloquence,  
then I would have been judged on fair grounds as their competitor.  
But they have the advantage of time, which envy does not follow.  
(*App. Anth.* 43., translation by Hanink 2014 p.185).

This suggests an interest in measuring the careers of contemporary artists against their predecessors, which would have been difficult to discern from the *Fasti* and *Didaskaliai*. Since these provide the viewer with an artist's prestige relative to his *contemporaries* in a given year, anyone who wanted to get a sense of a performer or poet's achievements over the course of his career would have to spend considerable time and effort to create a separate tally by consulting both inscriptions.

The history of drama at Athens as represented by the Victors Lists was one that gave equal weight and prominence to the poets and the performers of the City *Dionysia*, whose achievements were monumentalized for the first time on the level of the *choregoi* by the early third century. This is striking for two reasons. First, it is an important change from the other two catalogues, in which the financial backers of the productions were listed ahead of the performers, suggesting that their importance was held above all other contributors in the festival. Second, *choregoi* who financed winning productions erected several victory monuments on the south slope of the Acropolis and along the Street of Tripods leading to the theater in the surrounding precinct. Some of these, such as the monument of Nikias (320/19 BCE), were the size of small temples, with colonnaded fronts and a victory tripod set on top of the much larger entablature.<sup>54</sup> That these individuals were left out of the Victors Lists, while their monumental displays endowed them

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<sup>54</sup> See Goette 2007 fig. 10 for a reconstruction.

with considerable prestige and importance, speaks to the increased value attached to poets and performers by the early third century BCE.<sup>55</sup>

## **I.2. Funerary Monuments of Actors in the *Kerameikos***

This growing acclaim of artists was also reflected in other monuments outside of the theater precinct of the south slope. In the Kerameikos cemetery, two funerary monuments for actors of the fourth century were discovered near one another along the Street of Tombs that led to the Sacred Gate at the northwest entrance to the city. Alongside famous hereditary monuments of prominent aristocratic families,<sup>56</sup> the tragic actor<sup>57</sup> Makareus was marked for distinction based on his skill in his *technē*, with an epigram inscribed on the epistyle of his *naiskos* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 6626):

εἴ σε τύχη προὔπεμψε καὶ ἡλικίας ἐπέβησεν,  
ἐλπίδι γ' ἦσθα μέγας τῶι τε δοκεῖμ, Μακαρεῦ,  
ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς Ἕλλησιν ἔσεσθαι·  
σωφ[ρ]οσύνῃ δ' ἀρετῇ[ι] τε οὐκ ἀκλεῆς ἔθανες.

If fortune had guided you and brought you to full age,  
you would have been great in hope and in the expectation,  
Makareus, that you would become the charioteer of the  
tragic *technē* among the Greeks. But you did not die without

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<sup>55</sup> In 317 BCE, the *choregia* was abolished and replaced by the office of an individual *agonothete*, who financed and arranged the City *Dionysia* alone. This change is generally attributed to Demetrios of Phaleron, whose sumptuary laws on funerary monuments has been noted in the archaeological record of the Kerameikos cemetery, where lavish private monuments were replaced by more modest markers. All of these measures, according to the prevailing arguments, sought to curb the opportunities for monumental display by the Athenian aristocracy while under Macedonian control (see Wilson 2000, 272; O'Sullivan 2009, 172-78).

<sup>56</sup> Both monuments stood on the same corner terrace as the well-known Dexileos stele (IG II<sup>2</sup> 6217)

<sup>57</sup> By the fourth century, the terms τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός could (and more often did) refer to tragic and comic actors in addition to playwrights (who were increasingly referred to as διδασκαλοί).



*kleos* for your *sophrosyne* and *arete*.

The comic actor Euthias is also commemorated for his personal virtues in lieu of festival victories (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 11387 = CEG 550*):

ζηλοῖ σε Ἑλλάς πᾶσα ποθεῖ θ' ἱεροῖς ἐν ἀγῶσιν,  
Εὐθία, οὐκ ἀδίκως, ὅς τέχνει οὐχὶ φύσει  
ἐμ βοτρυοστεφάνωι κωμ<ω>ιδία<ι> ἡδυγέλωτι  
δεύτερος ὢν τάξει πρῶτος ἔφυς <σ>οφίαι.

All Hellas envies you and misses you in the sacred contests,  
Euthias, and not undeservedly; for though you were second-ranked  
in grape-crowned sweetly-laughing comedy by *technē*, not talent,  
you were born first in *sophia*.

In both cases, the deceased derive their reputation or *kleos* (whether potential or realized) from both their innate qualities (*sophia*, *sophrosynē*, and *aretē*) and the skills that they demonstrated in their chosen *technē*. In his study of fourth-century Attic funerary epigrams, Tsagalis notes a distinct rise in the number of inscriptions in which the deceased are identified by their profession in addition to the traditional mention of ancestry and tribal affiliation.<sup>58</sup> The *panhellenic* praise offered to these two artists, while typical within this broader trend of identifying and commemorating specialist craftsmen, may also recall the nature of their profession, which involved performing in front of a large crowd that likely included foreigners as well as citizens of the *polis* if they performed at the *Dionysia* or the *Lenaia*.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> See Tsagalis 2008, 135-213 for an overview.

<sup>59</sup> It is also possible (though impossible to prove) that these artists performed at festivals outside of Attica.

One gets the sense that the epitaphs were compensating for the artists' lack of distinction (both are clearly stated never to have won at any festivals) with private monuments in the Kerameikos cemetery. The opportunity for their public recognition as actors was only possible through a private commemoration in a different public space. The fact that they chose to do so speaks to the importance of the profession in each individual's public persona — even without the desired victory, it was important to Makareus and Euthias that they be remembered for their practice in the dramatic *technē* in addition to their demonstrations of the traditional aristocratic virtues of *sophrosyne*, *arete*, and *sophia*.

### **I.3. Cultural Capital, Wealth, and Festival Prestige**

With prestige and professionalization, and with it greater cultural capital, came a considerable amount of wealth, and there are clear demonstrations in the epigraphic record of artists who had immense personal fortunes. One of the largest private contributions to the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi in the years immediately following its destruction by an earthquake in 373 BCE was made by the Athenian actor Theodoros, who donated an astonishing seventy talents.<sup>60</sup> Another example of the sheer wealth of actors is found in a late fourth-century honorific inscription from Samos for the tragic actor Polos of Aegina (*SEG* 1.362, 306 BCE). The decree grants citizenship, safety of travel, and *prohedria* (right to sit in the first row) at all festivals for Polos and his descendants, along with the presentation of a golden crown, all because the performer agreed to *lower*

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<sup>60</sup> *F.D.* III.5.3.67-70. On the “star power” and wealth of actors in this period, see Easterling 1997a, 215-17 and 2002, 331; Csapo and Slater 1995, 221-38.

his fees and accept a delay in payments for the remainder of what the city owed him (the amount is never stated, but it must have been high if they were able to grant him a golden crown).<sup>61</sup>

As scholars have noted, the cumulative effect of these contracts and prizes for particularly skilled artists was the creation of a *de facto* circuit of festivals in which skilled performers and playwrights could make a living travelling to different city-states to perform and compete.<sup>62</sup> In some cases, cities would offer a contract to a celebrity actor who would perform for a nominal fee.<sup>63</sup> Such star billings likely increased attendance at festivals, and consequently increased the revenues collected by the city. Not only did greater attendance bring a potential financial windfall from entrance fees, but also ensured a larger audience who would witness the civic rituals that often preceded dramatic competitions at such festivals, including the important reading of honors for benefactors and other local and foreign elites.<sup>64</sup>

One may easily analogize this growing appeal of a talented performer's "star power" with modern celebrity culture,<sup>65</sup> but while this comparison is apt, it is important

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<sup>61</sup> On the decree, see Csapo and Slater 1995, 242-3.

<sup>62</sup> See Easterling 1997b on the artists and their wages in this period, which are generally hard to pin down but most likely varied by the "star power" of individual performers.

<sup>63</sup> Aristodemos of Athens was contracted to perform at multiple (unnamed) cities ca. 348/7 BCE when he was commissioned to serve as ambassador to Phillip II (Aesch. *On the False Embassy* 19). According to the scholion for this passage, Aristodemos received advances for his participation with the understanding that he would be fined for double the amount if he failed to appear (Schol. Aesch. *On the False Embassy* 19).

<sup>64</sup> See Chaniotis 2007 for an overview of rituals performed before performances at theatre festivals.

<sup>65</sup> Csapo 2010, 86 describes the rising appeal of actors in the fourth century BCE as "a developing star system of Hollywood proportions". Easterling (1997, 215) prefers the term "icon", though she employs the same modern analogy.

to look beyond this parallel and to define precisely the appeal of actors in the context of the fifth and fourth-century dramatic festivals, particularly at the City *Dionysia*. Simon Goldhill, in an influential study of the epigraphic and literary evidence for the festival's proceedings before, during, and after the performances of tragedy and comedy in the theater itself, argued persuasively that the *Dionysia* was a medium for the construction and display of Athenian "civic ideology".<sup>66</sup> Of the numerous attested ceremonies, the awarding of gold crowns to the city's benefactors and elite citizens before the performances stands as one of the hallmarks of this display.<sup>67</sup>

The delivery of honors at dramatic festivals held in a theater before the *demos* was a practice adopted by other city-states on this same model. Some of the most detailed documents that attest this are found in Ionia, particularly at Priene. In a characteristic example, a decree from the city of Iasos honors a foreign judge and his secretary, both of whom had served in an independent arbitration to settle an ongoing dispute (*I.Priene* 531,

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<sup>66</sup> Goldhill 1987. It is worth noting that detractors point to the fact that the bulk of our evidence for this practice dates to the late fourth century at the earliest, though a few documents survive that attest to similar honors being granted in the late fifth century. See Wilson 2011, 30-32, for a useful summary.

<sup>67</sup> See principally Goldhill 1987 and Chaniotis 2007 on the civic rituals that formed an important part of the dramatic festivals. That honorific practice marked an important part of the display of civic ideology is further underscored by the fact that the *Dionysia* had an audience comprised both of citizens (thanks to the theoric fund) and of foreigners, particularly dignitaries (Goldhill 1997). In the parabasis to the *Acharnians* (l. 504-7), Aristophanes claims that the *Lenaea*, the festival in which the play was staged, had no foreigners in attendance, unlike the *Dionysia*, where the political edge of his verses against Cleon in the *Knights* had landed him in hot water. See Robson 2009, 14-20 on further distinctions between the festivals with regard to the performance and tone of Old Comedy.

328 BCE). The decree clearly stipulates the specific occasion and manner of presentation at the judge's home festival:<sup>68</sup>

30 ...ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσ-  
βευτάς, οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς Πριήνην τό τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώσουσιν  
καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον,  
[ἀξί]ψουσιν δὲ καί, ἵνα οἱ στέφανοι ἀναγγελθῶσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς πρώ-  
[τοις Διον]υσίοις καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναγραφῇ ἐν ἱερῷ, ὃι ἂν αὐτοῖς φαίνεται, ἵνα  
[πᾶσι φανερ]ὸν ᾖ διότι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰασέων καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦ[ς]  
35 [ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾷ]...

[It was resolved] to choose ambassadors who, having appeared at Priene, shall deliver the decree and ask them (the Prienians) to take this resolution before the *demos*, and furthermore that they will think it best that, in order that the crowns be announced in the theater during the first *Dionysia* and that the decree be inscribed in the sanctuary wherever it should be conspicuous to them, in order that it be clear to all that the *demos* of the Iasians honors both *poleis* and good men. (*I.Priene* 531, 30-36).

The choice of the *Dionysia* (which took place in the city's theater) as the occasion for the reading of honors ensures that the assembled *demos* of Priene would bear witness to the prestige conferred by the ritual. Coupled with this public reading of honors is the requirement that the inscription be displayed in a prominent location, which in this case was the theater itself, the outer walls of which were covered with several honorific inscriptions.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, dramatic festivals served very important political purposes beyond mere public entertainment, and one can see how the participation of star performers at festivals

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<sup>68</sup> The judge and his secretary had served as independent arbitrators for an ongoing dispute (*I.Priene* 531, 1-30). See Gruen 1984, 106-8 and n. 54 for an overview of independent arbitrators for interstate disputes in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

<sup>69</sup> Priene's use of the theater as a location for commemorative statues and honorific inscriptions was unusual, as these would typically be placed in the city's *agora*. On the visibility of honorific monuments as connected with Hellenistic theatricality, see Bielfeldt 2012. On Priene's honorific statuary and inscriptions, see Ma 2013, 93.

indirectly benefited the civic rituals that took place around and during festival performances by drawing a larger audience for them. Visibility was an important component for honorific practice, both in the public reading of honors at the theater and (later) in the placement of honorific inscriptions in a conspicuous location.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> For a full treatment of the reading of honors at set times in dramatic festivals (arranged in different geographical contexts) see the thorough study of Ceccarelli 2010. For a more recent study on the placement of statues in public spaces (often a product of honorific decrees), see Ma 2013, II.2. Bielfeldt 2012 eloquently articulates the two tendencies as part of a comprehensive socio-political strategy of public distinction within a given community: "...the Hellenistic *polis* — despite all political dependencies — excels in one aspect: as a new and distinctive idea of the municipal public sphere construed and constructed as a space of self-manifestation, which is constantly in the process of materialization and monumentalization. The *primum mobile* of this communal self-appearance is the municipal honorific habit, the pivotal civic institution for the bestowal of public honors on the city's benefactors. This social practice resulted in a dynamic publication of honorific signs — signs that could assume a variety of textual and visual forms, whether spoken proclamations or inscribed texts, whether permanent sculptural monuments or the assignment of socially and architecturally prominent places." (91)

## II. Actors in service of the Athenian democracy

With the greater prominence of theater and of performers in the fourth century came an increased use of actors as political ambassadors for their states.<sup>71</sup> Most famously, the Athenian delegations to Philip II in 348/7 and 347/6 BCE that led to the Peace of Philocrates included the renowned tragic actors Neoptolemos<sup>72</sup> and Aristodemos<sup>73</sup>, in addition to Aeschines (an actor by training, though he is only ever referred to as a less-distinguished tritagonist).<sup>74</sup> From the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes that detail these negotiations,<sup>75</sup> we gain considerable insight into why the Athenian council included actors in such an important mission. In particular, they seem to have been well-suited to the task of appealing to foreign elites by virtue of their skill at oratory<sup>76</sup> and the international prestige that they cultivated from their frequent travels.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Csapo and Slater 1995, 231-8 provides a thorough summary of sources, to which I referred for this part of my discussion. See also their introductory discussion of this period at 221-4.

<sup>72</sup> Stephanis 1988, no. 1797

<sup>73</sup> Stephanis 1988, no. 332.

<sup>74</sup> On Aeschines as tritagonist, see Demosthenes *On the False Embassy* 199 and 247.

<sup>75</sup> Demosthenes *On the Peace* (345 BCE), *On the False Embassy* (343 BCE) and *On the Crown* (330 BCE); Aeschines *On the False Embassy* (343 BCE). See summary of relevant passages and translations in Csapo and Slater 1995, 232-5.

<sup>76</sup> Note that Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* (1403b31-5) does not distinguish the vocal skills of actors and orators — both use their vocal skills to carry off prizes from ‘contests’, whether in a festival or a political assembly.

<sup>77</sup> Csapo 2010, 173: “Actors offered the enormous benefit of greater mobility, charm, and speaking skills which made them ideal ambassadors and go-betweens.” The fact that Athens offered to negotiate settlements on Aristodemos’ behalf (see above) speaks to the importance of his celebrity and diplomatic talents to the delegation. Demosthenes (*On the Peace* 6) further clarifies that Neoptolemos was able to travel between Athens and Pella τῶι μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ’ ἀδείας (“enjoying freedom from fear by means of the guise of his craft”).

Not every Athenian was amenable to the use of actors on such important political missions, however. Aeschines' chief political rival Demosthenes repeatedly criticized the terms of the Peace, which in his opinion granted too much power to Philip II, whose influence was already felt in the Delphic Amphictyony after the Third Sacred War. In his repeated criticisms of the terms of the peace and the resulting shift of power to the encroaching influence of Philip, Demosthenes railed against Neoptolemos, Aristodemos, and Aeschines, whom he accused of misleading the Athenians into unfavorable terms in 343 BCE:

βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς κατεπολιτεύσατο Φίλιππος προσλαβὼν τούτους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐχθρούς. πάνυ δ' ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀπάτην ὅλην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν, διαφορουμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν καὶ κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων, ὥστ' ἀνόνητον ἐκείνον ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς τὰ φιλόανθρωπα λέγοντας ἐκείνους ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦλθομεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐμισθώσατο μὲν τοῦτον εὐθέως, ὅπως συνερεῖ καὶ συναγωνιῇται τῷ μιᾶρῳ Φιλοκράτει καὶ τῶν τὰ δίκαια βουλομένων ἡμῶν πράττειν περιέσται (Dem. 19 [*On the False Embassy*].315-16)

Now then, I want to review with you from the top the manner in which Philip subjugated you after having taken to his side these men [Aeschines and his associates] who are enemies to the gods. It is entirely worthwhile to lay out and behold the entire deceit. Indeed, from the beginning he was eager for peace, as his land was being plundered by brigands and his trading ports were being blockaded, with the result that it deprived him of all benefits from his goods, and he sent these men to speak benevolently on his behalf — Neoptolemos, Aristodemos, and Ktesiphon. When we went to him as ambassadors, he bribed this man [Aeschines] straightaway, so that he might add his voice to, and collaborate with, the abominable Philocrates and to overpower us, even though we wanted to do the just things (adapted from Csapo and Slater 1995, 223).

Demosthenes' contempt for the artists echoes Aristotle's disdain for the "flatterers of Dionysos" in the *Rhetoric*. More specifically, the accusation hinges on Demosthenes' al-



legation that Aeschines accepted bribes from the king, a charge that is extended by inference to the rest of the named delegates, including the two famous actors who are accused of becoming mouthpieces for the enemy of the state. According to the second hypothesis to the speech, Neoptolemos and Aristodemos gave performances for the king at Pella, for which they received lavish gifts.

It is impossible to verify these accounts, and Demosthenes' rhetorical attacks on the character of his opponents should not be taken at face value by modern historians. For the purpose of this study, however, it is only necessary to see how Demosthenes represents Philip's manipulation of the artists for their skill and celebrity in order to achieve political ends that were favorable to himself in Athens. Thus, in *On the Peace*, a speech delivered two years prior to *On the False Embassy*, Demosthenes turned his firebrand against the Athenian assembly for falling prey to the performance of Neoptolemos (Dem. 5.6):

πάλιν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδεΐας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα, παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὔτ' ἔχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκα, ὥς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔργων γέγονεν δῆλον. καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἷς γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς: εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγωδοῦς ἐθεᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὔτ' ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὔτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἠκούσατε.

Then again, Athenian men, having seen Neoptolemos the actor enjoying freedom from fear [i.e. freedom to travel] by means of the guise of his craft while at the same time doing the greatest evils to the *polis* and administering and controlling your matters for Philip, having come forward I spoke before you — not for the sake of any private enmity or calumny, as is clear from my deeds after these matters. And in these proceedings I will no longer blame those speaking on behalf of Neoptolemos (for no

one is), but I will blame you yourselves. If you had been an audience to tragic actors in the theater of Dionysos, but the plot was not about safety and public matters, you would neither have listened to him in this way with favor, nor to me with ill-will.

Neoptolemos' status as actor, according to Demosthenes, worked to Philip's advantage in two ways. First, his freedom to travel as he pleased (presumably without fear of being attacked or seized) allowed him to reach Philip without impediment and thus expose himself to the influence of the Macedonian court. Second, his skills of persuasion from his practice as a tragic actor won over a gullible Athenian public, who in Demosthenes' view failed to distinguish between the serious deliberations of the *ekklesia* and the performances at the *Dionysia* when weighing his arguments against those of Neoptolemos, who successfully convinced the *polis* to accept Philip's terms.<sup>78</sup>

This episode gives us a clear impression that both Athens and Philip recognized and employed the cultural capital and rhetorical prowess of certain artists to achieve their ends through diplomatic negotiation. In addition to the skills of persuasion developed by actors, which were applicable to the demands of a political audience where they were able to gain tangible political and legal results in their favor, it was the *prestige* of Neoptolemos and Aristodemos that made them worthy of inclusion in the delegation to Philip II. The exchange of cultural for political capital can be seen in the use of Neoptolemos' immunity from harm and his ability to move freely between Athens and Philip II, a freedom which he owed to his *technē*. If we are to put any stock in Demosthenes' account,

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<sup>78</sup> This passage bears a striking resemblance to Cleon's criticism of the Athenians as 'spectators' (*theatai*) of speeches and deliberations in the Mytilenian Debate (Thuc. 3.38.4)

the crucial mistake of the Athenian assembly was in underestimating the ability of the Macedonian court to employ the same star power and cultural capital of the same actors to persuade the Athenian assembly.

### **III. The *technitai* and Royal patronage in Macedonia<sup>79</sup>**

The previous section highlighted the political use of celebrity actors by the Athenian assembly in its diplomatic negotiations with Philip II. This section now turns to the effects of royal patronage on artists and the use of their cultural capital in the Macedonian court. An overview of Macedonia's cultural politics in the Classical period provides important context for Philip II's patronage of artists, which was a continuation of his predecessors' endeavor to endear the court at Pella to the southern Greeks through legitimated forms of culture, particularly theater. This patronage by Philip in turn provides important context for the entourage of actors that attended Alexander the Great during his eastern campaign, which will take up the remainder of the chapter. Alexander's innovation over his predecessors was in the mobility of his entourage, a function that may have been adopted from an Achaemenid form of political display.

#### **III.1. Macedonia's Cultural Program from Alexander I to Archelaos**

While royal patronage of artists was by no means a new phenomenon in the late Classical period, as the famous case of Pindar bears out,<sup>80</sup> the patronage of theatrical artists was recognized as a distinct phenomenon in the ancient world. The Roman theater historian Rufus, whose work is summarized by the fourth-century author Sopater, devoted a por-

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<sup>79</sup> This section of the chapter relies heavily on the recent collection of sources and keen analyses provided by Moloney 2014 and Le Guen 2014.

<sup>80</sup> See Kurke 1991 on the symbolic capital of Pindar's epinician poetry for kings and their royal families.

tion of his work to listing actors who were the lovers and devotees of kings.<sup>81</sup> The biographies of Aeschylus and Euripides, two of the three most illustrious Athenian tragedians, are marked by the patronage of Hiero I of Gela and Archelaos I of Macedonia (respectively) late in their lives.<sup>82</sup> In each case, the poets composed new tragedies that were commissioned by the courts, and the works accordingly reflected the political ideology and aims of the royal patrons.<sup>83</sup> In response to the affront of seeing their homegrown talent used to these ends, the Athenians would later monumentalize their claim to the artists' legacies, an effort that included a cenotaph for Euripides that bore an epigram explicitly celebrating the city as the preeminent cultural center of Greece ((*Vit. Eur.* IA.10=*AP* 7.45):<sup>84</sup>

Μνᾶμα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ᾗπας Ἐυριπίδου, ὅστέα δ' ἴσχει  
 γῇ Μακεδῶν, ἧπερ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.  
 πατρὶς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς, Ἀθῆναι· πλεῖστα δὲ Μούσαις  
 τέρψας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

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<sup>81</sup> Photius *Bibl.* 103a. The date of Rufus is uncertain. See Easterling 2002, 333.

<sup>82</sup> The sources for both are largely anecdotal references scattered in various works (see Hanink 2008 and 2010) which are collected in the later Hellenistic *vitae* of the poets (see Lefkowitz 2012 for the most recent edition of these texts).

<sup>83</sup> For Hiero I, Aeschylus composed the *Women of Aetnai* (*TrGF* F 6), which celebrated the foundation of the Aetna through the performance of its mythical *aition*, Hiero's foundation of Aetna was also celebrated by Pindar (*Pythian* 1) and Simonides (*PMG* F 552), possibly at the same occasion (see Dougherty 1993, 88). Euripides' *Archelaos*, which was composed in Pella, traced the Macedonian royalty's mythical lineage to Argos and attributed the legitimization of their rule to Herakles, which effectively rooted their genealogy in a distinctly southern Greek setting. See the extensive discussion of the fragments in Moloney 2014, 237-40. The prologue of the play also changes the name of the mythical founder of the line from Perdiccas to Archelaos, who leaves Argos to escape his hostile brothers and found the Aegead dynasty in Macedonia with the approval of Herakles (Roisman 2010, 157).

<sup>84</sup> Pausanias (1.2.3) locates the cenotaph on the road to Piraeus just outside the city, alongside the grave for Menander. On this cultural competition between Athens and foreign kings over the "ownership" of artists' legacies, see Hanink 2008 and 2010. Bing 1993 notes a general trend in this period which he calls the "memorializing impulse" that he defines as an effort by local communities to maintain and control the legacy of certain literary figures. He cites as an example the shrine of Archilochus on Paros.

All of Hellas is the tomb of Euripides, though the land of  
Macedonia holds his bones, where he spent the end of his life.  
His homeland was Athens, the Hellas of Hellas. He was most pleasing  
to the Muses from his many works and has esteem.

How did actors and musicians, with their increased prestige, fit into this field of interstate competition and royal patronage? The answer is generally less clear than in the case of the illustrious poets highlighted above. Some scholars have attempted to trace the movement of Athenian art and artists in material evidence from Magna Graecia. This region presents a particularly attractive possibility, as the tyrants Hieron I and Dionysios I were both famous for their theatrical tastes.<sup>85</sup> Even here, however, the picture is especially murky beyond their patronage of Aeschylus and other poets in the fifth century. Some scholars have pointed to iconographic depictions of actors in performance as evidence of the transition of Athenian drama and talent to the west,<sup>86</sup> though these arguments are subject to an important and continuing debate.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Dionysios I was an avid playwright who earned a victory for his work at the *Lenaia* of 367 BCE. He was alleged to have purchased some of the effects of Euripides after the poet's death, having inscribed both of their names on the Athenian poet's lyre, which he dedicated to a temple of the Muses (*Vit. Eur.* III.3).

<sup>86</sup> This includes among other things a large number of terracotta figurines depicting stock comedic characters and an equally large number of vase paintings that depict theatrical performance (mainly comedy). See Taplin 1993; Webster et al 1978 and 1995 and Trendall 1967 for the principal collections and analyses of the materials. Taplin 1993 in particular made the influential argument that the so-called *Phlyax Vases* that depict comic performers on stage with padded phalluses were in fact depictions of Attic Old Comedy. Thus, he argues, the vases serve as evidence that the Athenian art form had made its way to the western Greek colonies in the fourth century BCE.

<sup>87</sup> Taplin's analysis has received recent criticism for overlooking the fact that most of the known provenances for these vases are non-Greek tomb assemblages in Apulia (Todisco 2012). Without going into too much more detail here, I would add to these concerns that, following the familiar adage that "pots don't equal people", we should similarly be hesitant to trace the performance (by people) of one area's art form (Athens) in another area (Magna Graecia) based on the assumed movement of painted iconography on vases. Thus, Taplin's recent speculation that these iconographic depictions could constitute early evidence for *technitai* in the West (Taplin 2012), which is based on the assumption that such vases constitute evidence that Athenian actors traveled to the West to perform at festivals in the colonies, is not one I am comfortable pursuing based solely on iconographic depictions of performance.

We are on surer footing with the Macedonian kings in this period, which is due partly to the fact that the court's strong cultural inclinations, particularly in their foreign policy towards the Greeks, are heavily attested in contemporary and later literature.<sup>88</sup> The roots of the court's keen involvement in Greek cultural politics can be traced back to the reign of Alexander I (498-454 BCE),<sup>89</sup> whose emphasis on his family's ties to Argos<sup>90</sup> and his donation of a golden portrait at Delphi<sup>91</sup> are understood to be part of a strategy to identify his kingdom culturally with the Greeks.<sup>92</sup> Fragments of epinician poems for the king by Pindar (fr. 120F) and Bacchylides (fr. 20B) herald the Macedonian dynasty's entry into the field of Greek cultural competition, with a distinction that rivaled the Sicilian tyrants and other political elites throughout the Mediterranean.

During the Peloponnesian War, under the command of Alexander's grandson Archelaos I (d. 401/400 BCE), Macedonia involved itself in Greek affairs by supplying a large amount of timber to Athens for the maintenance of its navy.<sup>93</sup> The Athenians reciprocated by honoring the king in a decree, which granted him proxeny and the title of *eu-*

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<sup>88</sup> The most recent and thorough discussions of the sources are in Moloney 2014 *passim* and the chapters by Engels, Sprawski, Roisman, Müller and Hardiman in Roisman and Worthington, eds. 2010.

<sup>89</sup> On the chronology of the Macedonian kings, see March 1995, Roisman 2010 and Müller 2010

<sup>90</sup> Herodotus tells the story of Alexander appealing to the judges at Olympia to allow his participation in the Olympic games by tracing his lineage to Argos (5.18-22); see also 8.137-9. Two Pindaric fragments seem to confirm his participation and victory (Werner 1967, FF 92 and 93). See Sprawski 2010, 142 for further discussion of the authenticity of this story.

<sup>91</sup> Hdt. 8.121. See also Philip's letter as recorded in Dem. 12.2, which cites the portrait as part of his ancestral claim to the sanctuary during the Third Sacred War.

<sup>92</sup> Dio Chrysostom 2.33 gives Alexander I the title *philhellenos*, though his writings date to the second century CE and may have been influenced by the rhetoric of Alexander III (the Great) and his successors in the Hellenistic period (Sprawski 2010, 143).

<sup>93</sup> See IG I<sup>3</sup> 89; Dem. *On the False Embassy* 265, *Against Timotheos* 26; Thuc. 4.108.1; Xen. *HG*. 6.1.11.

*ergetēs* (IG I<sup>3</sup> 117, 406 BCE). For Archelaos and Macedonia, the economic and diplomatic relationship with Athens was a profitable one despite the outcome of the war. This was seen most vividly in the construction of a new capital and a court built in a Greek style at Pella to replace the old capital of Aegae.<sup>94</sup> It was to this court where Archelaos brought artistic talent from throughout the Greek world. These included the Athenian tragedians Euripides and Agathon,<sup>95</sup> the painter Zeuxis of Ephesus, the musician and poet Timotheus of Miletus, and the epic poet Choerilos of Samos.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the formation of this new culturally panhellenic court, the king inaugurated an Olympic festival in honor of Zeus at the Macedonian sanctuary of Dion, which Greeks from multiple *poleis* attended.<sup>97</sup>

The institution of a new court, the formation of a (para-)Olympic festival, and the ability to ‘collect’ poets from so far afield and from such recognized cultural centers as Athens constituted a powerful expression of the king’s political reach in the Greek world. Scholars interpret the purpose of this cultural program in various ways. For some, these efforts are to be understood as strategies for including the Macedonian court within a panhellenic identity, in keeping with the efforts of Alexander I to make amends for past

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<sup>94</sup> See Roisman 2010, 92.

<sup>95</sup> *Vit. Eur.* 21-5. Agathon’s residence in Macedonia is only known from a few brief references, including a scholion to Arist. *Frogs* 83-6. When Herakles asks Dionysos for the whereabouts of Agathon and other leading poets of the day, Dionysos responds that Agathon has gone ἐς μακάρων ἐσυχίαν (“to the banquet of the blessed”, 86). According to the scholion, this response refers to the poet’s banqueting in Macedonia at the court of Archelaos, underscored by the pun of μακάρων for Μακεδόν.

<sup>96</sup> Roisman 2010, 157. For a list of artists, see also Daskalakis 1965, 271 n.9. An anecdote from Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* states that Sophocles humbly turned down an invitation to join the court because he could not possibly repay the favor (2.23.8).

<sup>97</sup> Diod. 17.16.3; Arr. 1.1.1. See Bosworth 1980, 97. This festival is an important forerunner to the later “isolympic” and “isopythian” festivals (especially those founded by the successor kings) that appear in the Hellenistic period.



differences between the kingdom and the Greek *poleis* following Xerxes' invasion.<sup>98</sup> This counters an earlier view of Badian, who interpreted the institution of the festival in Dion as a 'counter-Olympics' to compete *against* the traditional festival circuit to the south.<sup>99</sup> Still others, citing among other things the political undertones of Euripides' tailored *aition* in the *Archelaos*, instead choose to see these cultural efforts as part of a strategy to distinguish Archelaos and the Argead line from other elite Macedonian families.<sup>100</sup>

The accumulation of foreign artists at Pella and the "Olympic" festival in Dion were expressions of wealth and power through cultural symbols that were exclusive to Archelaos by virtue of his extensive contacts with the Greek *poleis*. This wealth and extensive network allowed Archelaos to distinguish himself politically against other local elites and non-elites through the legitimation of Greek culture as a symbol of his dynastic power, in continuation of his grandfather's philhellenic policies. It is difficult to imagine any other Macedonian elite at the time who had the ability to become a patron at the same level, or whose reach could extend so broadly throughout the Greek mainland.

On the other hand, one cannot ignore the clear parallels between Archelaos' patronage of artists and Hiero I's patronage of Aeschylus and other poets at his court in Syracuse from less than a century earlier. It is not at all farfetched to suppose that the attraction of artists from around the Greek world would have captured the attention of other

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<sup>98</sup> See Taplin 1999, 42 and Moloney 2014, 236.

<sup>99</sup> Badian 1982, 35 *ap.* Roisman 2010, 156 n.36.

<sup>100</sup> Roisman 2010, 156 and n.36, who follows Borza 1993, 237-44.

*poleis*, some of whom (like Athens) ‘lost’ their talent to Archelaos’ court, and later sought to reclaim these figures retroactively as their own. Whether Archelaos specifically had the Syracusan tyrant’s patronage in mind is not certain, but one may argue that his efforts to “Hellenize” his court may have been a way to distinguish his reign not only from his political rivals in Macedonia but also from his predecessors and rivals in other kingdoms throughout the Greek world.

Ultimately, there is no reason to find these motives of Macedonian Hellenization to be mutually exclusive. Rather, it is probable that the Philhellenism of Alexander I and Archelaos served multiple functions; their participation in and cultivation of Greek culture at their court was meant both to distinguish the Argead line from its internal rivals in Macedonia while also aspiring to create a new center for Greek cultural identity in the north.<sup>101</sup> Each strategy, in other words, effectively operated in distinct yet overlapping fields with different internal (Macedonian) and external (Greek) agents and audiences.

### **III.2. Philip II and artists in Macedonia**

The reign of Philip II (359 - 336 BCE) was especially marked by his use of culture and of theater in particular to expand his influence in the Greek world. Unlike his predecessors, whose relations with the southern *poleis* remained for the most part favorable, Philip’s expansionist policies marked an important aggressive shift in Macedonian relations with the rest of the Greek mainland, and particularly against Athens. The capture of Amphipo-

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<sup>101</sup> See Engels 2010.

lis (357 BCE) and Methone (355 BCE) during the Third Social War extended Macedonian control to the former Athenian strongholds in the northwestern Aegean. During this time, the king celebrated the victory of his chariot at the Olympic games (357/6 BCE) by issuing a series of Attic-standard tetradrachms with the head of Zeus on the obverse and a Macedonian rider carrying a victory laurel on the reverse.<sup>102</sup> The Olympic victory recalled that of his great-grandfather Alexander I, and the coinage was issued on a weight and standard that would have ensured a wider circulation to announce his accomplishments to the Greek world. His continuation of the dynasty's cultural aspirations was perhaps best expressed in the *Philippeion* at Olympia (338-336 BCE), a family monument noted for its distinctive panhellenic mix of Attic, Argolid and Asiatic decorative features.<sup>103</sup>

Philip's involvement in the Third Sacred War extended his territorial and cultural reach, leading to the destruction of Olynthos and the Peace of Philocrates,<sup>104</sup> following which he acquired two seats on the Amphietyonic council that were previously held by the defeated Phocians.<sup>105</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the sack of Olynthos in 348 BCE, he once again followed the example of his great-grandfather by celebrating an Olympic festival at Dion in 348/7 BCE, to which he invited a large number of artists from several

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<sup>102</sup> Müller 2010, 172.

<sup>103</sup> On the Philippeion, see Hardiman 2010, 508-10.

<sup>104</sup> See Worthington 2008, 89-104. On Philip and the Sacred War, see esp. Buckler 1989 for a full treatment of the sources.

<sup>105</sup> Diod. 16.60.1.

*poleis* (Dem. *On the False Embassy* 192): ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυνθὸν Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι' ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν ("For when Philip took Olynthos, he held an *Olympia*, and to that very sacrifice and celebration he gathered all the artists"). Diodoros also mentions the festival, which included sacrifices followed by a large banquet for all of the guests (16.55.1). Though we do not get much more detail about the contests or competitors,<sup>106</sup> we do know that one attendee at the festival was the comic actor Satyros of Olynthos, a *Lenaia* victor in 375 BCE, whose appeal to Philip before a sympathetic audience at the court successfully secured the release of two captives from his native city.<sup>107</sup>

The Athenian response to Philip's increased power on the Amphictyonic council shows just how significant it was to the Greeks. The Pythian games over which Philip presided in the following year (346/5 BCE), by virtue of his position in the council, were initially boycotted by Athens in protest.<sup>108</sup> Demosthenes, mindful of the significance of such a gesture, convinced the assembly that they were risking open war with the insult, a sentiment that underscored the importance of Athenian artists' and athletes' participation at the games as a tacit approval of the terms of peace.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Hammond and Griffith (1979, 372) argue that Philip attracted "the leading actors of the day" to the festival. The evidence is not quite explicit enough to support this assertion, though it is not beyond the realm of possibility.

<sup>107</sup> Hammond and Griffith 1979, 193-5. Demosthenes identifies the prisoners as the daughters of Apollophanes of Pydna. This episode is corroborated by Aeschines, who identifies Apollophanes as a friend of Demosthenes, who later offered praise to Satyros for his diplomatic efforts.

<sup>108</sup> Dem. *On the Sacred Embassy* 128.

<sup>109</sup> Müller 2010, 175

Behind these tensions, the Athenians and perhaps many other Greeks seemed to have a common sense of Philip's larger strategy and were wary of its ultimate aim. When turning his attention to the alleged corruption of Aeschines by Philip, Demosthenes accuses his rival of proclaiming Philip as *hellenikotatos*, "the most Greek" of men.<sup>110</sup> The superlative form of the adjective implies that Philip's "Greekness" was determined through competition; in other words, he sought to be "more" Greek than all others.<sup>111</sup> Isocrates' letter to Philip II (dated shortly after the Peace of Philocrates) seems to have anticipated the king's grander militaristic aims, proposing that he should lead an expedition against Persia to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor.<sup>112</sup> He was not the only prominent Athenian to voice his support of Philip's hegemony. Speusippos, the head of the Academy in the later fourth century BCE, supported Philip's position in another letter by tracing the king's heritage back to Heracles, and thereby connecting his dynastic aetiology with Euripides' *Archelaos* and the genealogical connections of Alexander I to Argos.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Dem. *On the False Embassy* 308. This sycophantic praise is contrasted with Aeschines' earlier attempts to rouse Athens and its allies against Philip (*ibid.* 306-7) and serves as evidence that he was "bought out" (μισήσας, *ibid.* 309) when he visited the Macedonian court as an ambassador. Aesch. 2.15 seems to support his rival's assessment: he glowingly praises Philip for showing favor to artists διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς τέχνης ("because of his knowledge and favorable view of the art").

<sup>111</sup> The scholion to this passage glosses the adjective as καθαρώτατον ("purest") and εἰλικρινέστατον ("most undiluted"), which would imply a notion of an ideal "Greek" form to which Philip aspired [Schol. Dem. *On the False Embassy* 308 s.v. Ἑλληνικώτατον]. I am reluctant to follow these glosses given the differentiation in strategies taken by the Macedonian kings as opposed to the Athenians in courting and 'claiming' the cultural capital of artists. In short, Philip's strategy (as with his predecessors) constituted a *redefinition* of Greekness in terms favorable to a Macedonian court that had the capability to draw on artists and traditions from around the Greek world to create a potent panhellenic identity. In the speech itself, Demosthenes couples the characterization of Philip as "most Greek" with the equally superlative notion that he was "most capable at speaking" (δεινότατον λέγειν, *On the False Embassy*, 308).

<sup>112</sup> See Weißenberger 2003.

<sup>113</sup> See Natoli 2004.

Philip's assassination in 336 BCE, which occurred in the theater at Aegae prior to his planned eastern campaign, provides a fitting capstone to a discussion of his cultural politics. The specific occasion for the gathering was a celebration of his daughter's marriage, and dignitaries from many Greek cities attended:

τέλος δὲ πολλῶν πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν συρρεόντων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ γάμων συντελουμένων ἐν Αἰγέαις τῆς Μακεδονίας οὐ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων πόλεων αἱ πλείους, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. (Diod. 16.92.1)

In the end, after people from all over flowed together to the celebration, and the contests and wedding were arranged in Aegae in Macedonia, not only did famous men one after another crown him with golden crowns, but most of the noteworthy *poleis* as well — among these were the Athenians.

The picture provided by Diodoros suggests a near-reversal of typical honorific practice at theater festivals of the Classical and Hellenistic period. At the Athenian *Dionysia*, as with most festivals, the hosting city issued crowns to honorands as a means of reinforcing normative values for individual distinction within a given community. In Aegae in 336 BCE, Philip (as host) centered the attention explicitly on himself and his court, receiving honors from his foreign guests (the audience). If Diodoros' account is to be taken as accurate, the festival is in keeping with Philip's panhellenic posturing from earlier in his reign. This is underscored by the fact that the assembled crowd was not only impressive in its geographic range (πανταχόθεν), but also in its prestige: the individuals who honored Philip were *epiphanoi* ("famous" or, more literally, "conspicuous") and their cities were *axiologoi* ("noteworthy").

As Diodoros and later sources record, the actor Neoptolemos (who served as emissary between Athens and Philip in the previous decade) had been invited to provide choice entertainment for the king prior to his expedition. On the night before the ceremony, at a banquet held by Philip, the king summoned him to perform:

ἐν γὰρ τῷ βασιλικῷ πότῳ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τραγῳδός, πρωτεύων τῇ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ, προστάξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου προενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων ποιημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνηκόντων πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν στρατείαν, ὁ μὲν τεχνίτης κρίνας οἰκεῖον ὑποληφθήσεσθαι τὸ ποίημα τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιπλῆξαι βουλόμενος τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καίπερ οὔσαν μέγαν καὶ περιβόητον, ὅπως μεταπέσοι ποτ' ἂν εἰς τοῦναντίον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἥρξατο λέγειν τόδε τὸ ποίημα:

φρονεῖτε νῦν αἰθέρος ὑψηλότερον  
καὶ μεγάλων πεδίων ἀρούρας,  
φρονεῖθ' ὑπερβαλλόμενοι  
δόμων δόμους, ἀφροσύνα  
πρόσω βιοτὰν τεκμαιρόμενοι.  
ὁ δ' ἀμφιβάλλει ταχύπουν  
κέλευθον ἔρπων σκοτίαν,  
ἄφνω δ' ἄφαντος προσέβα  
μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας  
θνατῶν πολύμοχθος Ἄιδας (Diod.16.92.3-5)<sup>114</sup>

At the royal banquet was the tragic actor Neoptolemos, preeminent in the power of his voice and in esteem, and when Philip ordered him to recite some successful passage — especially those which pertained to the campaign against the Persians — the artist, having selected a passage that would be interpreted as suitable to the crossing of Philip, and wanting to attack the wealth of the king of the Persians (which, though great and famous, might one day fall to the opposite at the hands of fate), began to recite this passage:

Now you contemplate something higher than aether,  
and the cultivated fields of great plains;  
You contemplate homes while aiming to surpass homes [of old?],  
in foolishness claiming precognition of your life in the far off future.  
But someone else catches the swift-footed one  
following a dark path.

<sup>114</sup> The excerpt is listed in *TrFD* II 127. It is also quoted by Philodemus with slight variations (*De Morte* 4) as coming from a well known poet, but the name is never given (Easterling 1997b 218 n.27).

Suddenly, unseen, he approaches,  
making off with great hopes,  
of mortals — Hades, source of many sufferings.

It is telling that Diodoros gives us the name of the performer, which he felt was important, but not of the tragedy's author.<sup>115</sup> This reflects the greater prestige that had been placed on actors over the course of the fourth century, which must have informed Philip's choice for entertainment on the night before his campaign was to begin. The performance, we are told, was received warmly in connection with a favorable omen for his expedition from the oracle at Delphi.<sup>116</sup>

The Macedonian dynasty employed culture, theater in particular, to its political ends by establishing a new cultural center in Pella. The centrality of this court in the field of Greek culture was proclaimed by the institution of a new Olympic festival at Dion sponsored by the dynasty, by the creation of a new court at Pella, and by the patronage of artists from around the Greek world to the perceived detriment of their native cities, including Athens. The cultural activity of Philip II should be understood as a continuation of his ancestry's cultural strategy toward the Greeks, which was both participatory inasmuch as the Argead dynasty wished to express itself as part of a panhellenic identity and

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<sup>115</sup> Easterling 1997b, 219.

<sup>116</sup> Diod. 16.92.4. The ancient accounts of Philip's assassination in the theater at Aegae on the following day tend to give the event a very dramatic coloring (Easterling 1997b, 219-20), and Neoptolemos' presence and role in the events leading up to the murder kept his celebrity alive for posterity in the later traditions surrounding the historic event. In the *Florilegium* (98.70), Stobaeus relates a story in which the actor was asked later in life what he admired best in the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. He was alleged to have replied that none of their works could compare to having witnessed Philip processing into the theater to be hailed as a thirteenth god before being murdered on stage. The colorful retelling of the events by the later authors may bring the historicity of the details into question, though I see no reason to doubt that Neoptolemos, who was accused by Demosthenes of being a mouthpiece for the Macedonian court, was present for the ceremony.



controlling in that they brought elements of Greek culture from throughout the *oikoumene* to their court and highlighted it in their monuments at panhellenic sanctuaries. It is quite likely, though difficult to prove, that the Macedonian kings had the Sicilian tyrants in mind, another ‘foreign’ power that successfully participated in Greek cultural competition by showcasing its prowess at panhellenic festivals and sanctuaries and by patronizing mainland talent in their courts.

For Athens, the loss of theatrical talent to Macedonia, whether through political influence in the case of its ambassadors or through patronage in the case of Euripides and Agathon, was taken as a serious affront to their self-perception as the preeminent center of Greek culture.<sup>117</sup> The Lykourgan era in Athens, as noted above, saw the monumentalization of the city's literary icons in spite of the fact that much of their talent left the city to seek fortune in foreign courts. This cultural competition with Macedonia and later with the kings of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* would be of central importance to the rise of the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai*, which was a vivid expression of the city's talent and prominence in the field of cultural production and competition.

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<sup>117</sup> See Hanink 2008, 2011, and 2014.

#### IV. From *Dionysokolakes* to *Alexandrokolakes*: The Artistic Entourage of Alexander

Philip's use of actors for both politically charged entertainment and in diplomacy was adopted by his son Alexander III (hereafter "the Great" or simply "Alexander") from an early stage in his career. According to Plutarch, when Philip was negotiating the marriage between his royal family and that of the satrap Pixodaros (ca. 337-336 BCE),<sup>118</sup> Alexander managed to persuade the actor Thessalos (who was part of the diplomatic mission) to put the young prince's name forward instead of Philip's son Arrhidaios as a potential suitor to Pixodaros' daughter Ada. Philip, apparently wise to the plot, ordered that Thessalos be returned to Macedonia in chains for his insubordination to the diplomatic mission.<sup>119</sup>

Thessalos, for his part, would remain in the good graces of Alexander when the young general succeeded Philip as king. In keeping with the traditions of his predecessors at the head of the Macedonian court, Alexander famously cultivated a strong taste for Greek theater culture, and several of the artists who were under the patronage of Philip joined his successor's entourage as he left for his eastern campaign. Ancient sources mention several artists from around the Greek world that traveled with Alexander, both poets and performers,<sup>120</sup> and as with Philip and Archelaos, the prestige of the artists themselves and the geographical range from which Alexander could attract the best talent to his circle

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<sup>118</sup> See Olbrycht 2010, 249 on the background to these negotiations. Pixodaros' forces had previously rebuffed Philip's attacks on Perinthos in 340-339 BCE (Diod. 16.75.1-2; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 234).

<sup>119</sup> Plut. *Alexander* 10.1-2. See Worthington 2008, 178-80; Badian 1963, 245; Hammond-Griffith 1979, 679-80; Bosworth 1988, 21.

<sup>120</sup> For an analysis of Alexander's use of dramatic festivals and performing artists on his campaign see Le Guen 2014. For a list of the artists and their origins, see Tritle 2009, 267-79.

are frequently points of emphasis in the ancient accounts.<sup>121</sup> As a case in point, consider Arrian's summary of a festival celebration at Memphis after Alexander's anointment as Pharaoh in 332-1 BCE:

καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν· ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι (Arr. 3.1.4)

and [Alexander] sacrificed there [Memphis] both to the other gods and to Apis, and he held a gymnastic and musical festival — for these things, the most renowned artists from Greece came to him.

One way in which Alexander departed from the cultural practices of his father and the earlier Macedonian kings was in the sheer scale of these celebrations. Ancient authors often emphasized with amazement the number of artists that were drawn to a particular festival. According to Arrian, some three thousand artists traveled to Babylon in 323 BCE for the funeral celebrations of Hephaestion, which included athletic, musical and dramatic contests.<sup>122</sup> In what may be a confusion over the same occasion in the sources, Plutarch notes the same number of artists at a festival in Ekbatana during the previous year.<sup>123</sup> There is no way to confirm such numbers, and one could reasonably suspect that they are exaggerated, but the emphasis on the massive scale of these celebrations, made even

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<sup>121</sup> See the discussion of the weddings at Susa below.

<sup>122</sup> Arr. 7.14.10. He classifies the festival as an *agon gymnikos* and *mousikos*. The occasion is also recorded in Diodoros (17.115.6) who notes that the celebrations included sacrifices to a deified Hephaestion.

<sup>123</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 72.1. Plutarch prefaces his account by saying that Alexander was immersing himself in theatrical performances and celebrations (ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν). Arrian also records a festival and sacrifices taking place in Ekbatana (7.14.1), though does not give a number for the artists recruited to the celebration as he does for Babylon. Diodoros (7.110.4) calls the occasion an *agon thymelikos*, suggesting that performances of drama took place.

more prestigious by the number and reputation of the artists who performed at them, cannot be overlooked.<sup>124</sup>

The fact that Alexander regularly organized major festivals *ad hoc* during his eastern campaign marks his other major departure from his predecessors in Macedon, whose entertainment and display of power was centered at the royal courts in Aegae and Pella.<sup>125</sup> We have no evidence for these apparently grand events outside of the literary sources, which is perhaps due to their ephemerality — it appears that few of these festivals and contests were planned far in advance, but instead were organized during pivotal points of the campaign as a source of morale for the Macedonian forces and as a means for Alexander to display his prowess and panhellenic cultural affinity.<sup>126</sup> The ephemerality of these festivals also seems to explain the dearth of details for most of them in our sources. The notable exceptions include the dramatic festival organized at Tyre (331 BCE), the production of the *Agon* attested at a *Dionysia* at Hydaspes (326 BCE) and the weddings at Susa (324 BCE). Each of these demonstrate Alexander's use of actors and musicians as a mobile form of cultural capital that legitimated his rule throughout his campaign.

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<sup>124</sup> Le Guen 2014, 265: “[The number’s] historical accuracy is of less importance than its capacity to attest the power of attraction that Alexander hoped might be felt across the Greek world.”

<sup>125</sup> See Le Guen 2014 table 1 for a full list (20 total, including 19 *agones* and the Wedding at Susa, which included entertainment by performing artists) of the festivals mentioned in the major sources (Arrian, Diodoros, Plutarch, Curtius, and Athenaeus).

<sup>126</sup> See Le Guen 2014, 251-2 on the nature of the sources in general. Generally speaking, Arrian provides the most detail for the nature of the festivals by labeling them according to type (*agones mousikoi*, *gymnikoi*, *lampas*, etc.). Le Guen surmises that this may be due to his access to the Royal Diaries (251).

The festival at Tyre (331 BCE) was organized soon after Alexander returned from his successful campaign in Egypt. He had captured the city in the previous summer and celebrated the occasion with athletic games, military processions, and a sacrifice to Herakles.<sup>127</sup> His second visit to Tyre receives only a brief comment from Arrian (3.6.1), who mentions a second sacrifice to Herakles, though emphasizes that the festival consisted of gymnastic and musical competitions. Considerably more detail is provided by Plutarch's biography. He notes that the festival also included dramatic competitions which were directly modeled on the Athenian *Dionysia*:

εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμπροὺς γενομένους, ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι τὰς φυλάς, καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μάλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφιλονείκησαν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδορῷ, Νικοκρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν Ἀθηνόδορον. τότε δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1-2)

Having returned to Phoenicia from Egypt [Alexander] instituted sacrifices to the gods and processions and competitions of circular choruses and tragedies, which were illustrious not only in their furnishings but also in their contests [between competitors]. For the kings of Cyprus served as *choregoi*, just like those who are appointed by lot according to tribe in Athens, and they vied against one another with wondrous ambition — Nikokreon of Salamis and Pasikrates of Soli were especially competitive. For these men obtained by lot the most highly esteemed actors to direct: Pasikrates had Athenodoros, and Nikokreon had Thessalos, in whose favor even Alexander himself was zealous. He did not reveal this zeal in any way before it was announced that

<sup>127</sup> Arrian 2.24.6 describes the occasion in 332 BCE as involving an *agon gymnikos* (gymnastic) and *lampas* (traditional Macedonian torch races) following the sacrifice. Diodoros (19.46.6) only mentions the sacrifice.

Athenodorus won by the votes.<sup>128</sup> At that time, so it would seem, on departing he said that while he praised the judges, he himself would have gladly given away part of his kingdom in return for not having seeing Thessalos defeated.

This episode is part of Plutarch's illustration of Alexander's differing attitudes when addressing Greeks and Barbarians (Plut. *Alex.* 28.1), and here shows the king's immense wealth by virtue of his ability to attract the best artists to his festivals on relatively short notice. Athenodoros and Thessalos are called *dokimotatoi*, “most highly esteemed”, and seem to have developed this reputation through multiple victories at the Athenian *Dionysia*.<sup>129</sup> The prestige of the artists at each festival is often a point of emphasis in Arrian's accounts as well, suggesting that this is not entirely a Plutarchean fiction nearly four centuries after the events described.<sup>130</sup>

This episode at Tyre further demonstrates that Alexander's relations with Athens were that of a cultural rival, much like his father Philip. Though Plutarch concludes that the king was generally less haughty in his bearing towards the Greeks than towards Barbarians,<sup>131</sup> on more than one occasion his relations with Athens seem to be the exception to this rule. This is illustrated in the immediate aftermath of the festival at Tyre, when he refused to make a petition before the Athenian assembly on behalf of Athenodoros for his

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<sup>128</sup> In *Moralia* 334e, Plutarch notes that these judges were οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν (“the most highly esteemed of the generals” from his army).

<sup>129</sup> Athenodoros won the acting prize in 342 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318, 291) and 329 BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318, 360). Thessalos was victorious in 340 BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2320, 6) and is listed as a *Lenaia* victor in 356 BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325, 1.267).

<sup>130</sup> E.g., Alexander's sacrifice to Apis and the other gods at Memphis (332/1 BCE) was followed by gymnastic and musical contests, to which the “most esteemed artists from all over Greece attended (ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφοῖ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, Arr. 3.4.1)

<sup>131</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 28.1. The exception to this rule that follows is Alexander's haughty response to Athens when the city petitioned for the island of Samos, which Alexander refused on the grounds that his father had passed it down to him as a possession (28.1).

failure to appear at the City *Dionysia*, which took place at the same time as Alexander's impromptu celebration. Instead, the king simply and dismissively paid off Athenodoros' fine from his own coffers (Plut. *Alex.* 29.3).

For Plutarch, this story is meant to illustrate the king's immense wealth and exceptional generosity, especially towards artists whom he favored,<sup>132</sup> though one might also read this episode as a powerful show of cultural dominance by Alexander over Athens.<sup>133</sup> Fines stipulated against performers who failed to honor a contract by appearing at a festival were meant to uphold the integrity of the festival itself. Such fines were common from the fourth century BCE onward, and typically included a clause in which a no-show can plea to have the penalty removed in light of extenuating circumstances, such as an illness.<sup>134</sup> The fines, as they were laid out in the initial contracts, were essentially prohibitive, as the amount was usually higher than the wages one could earn at the same festival.<sup>135</sup> Alexander's choice not to submit to the decision of the Athenian assembly but

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<sup>132</sup> The anecdote which follows this passage of Plutarch's biography reaffirms Alexander's immense wealth and his generosity towards artists. As Plutarch tells it, the comic actor Lykon of Skarphea (Stephanis 1988, no.1567) inserted a request for ten talents in his verses during a performance in front of the king. Alexander, laughing at the humorous gesture, granted it. (Plut. *Alex.* 29.4).

<sup>133</sup> Hanink analogizes this episode with the hypothetical of Laurence Olivier performing for an American multimillionaire rather than debut in *Hamlet* at the National Theatre in London in 1963 (2008 n.15).

<sup>134</sup> The early third century BCE Euboean law concerning the hiring of *technitai* (IG XII.9.207 + p.176 addenda + XII suppl. p. 178) stipulates that any artist who abandons his duties at any of the cities in Euboea is subject to arrest and to having his property seized anywhere on the island (lines 42-9). A later second century BCE inscription by the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of artists (*I. Iasos* 152) stipulates that such fines will be paid to the *koinon* rather than to the city, though the offender could petition before the assembly of the *koinon* if illness prevented him from fulfilling his duties (l. 18-25). See also Aeschines 2.19, in which the Athenians negotiated with other city-states to lift fines against Athenodoros so that he could serve in the embassy to Philip II.

<sup>135</sup> The Euboean law sets the fine at double the contract wages, the Iasos decree at 1000 Antiochean drachmas.

rather to pay off the fine shows a deliberate disregard for the prohibitive function of the regulation. If Athens could no longer rely on its laws to retain the best artists for its premier festival, its status as a center of Greek culture was placed in jeopardy by Alexander's purse and his willingness to spend it to get any artists he desired to perform at his events.

Despite the fact that the festivals organized during the campaign are noted in multiple accounts, we have very little information about what was performed by the artists. Based on Alexander's alleged affinity for Euripides and the classic playwrights,<sup>136</sup> it is often assumed that the artists performed from a repertoire of 'classic' plays, much in the way Neoptolemos selected appropriate verses to recite before Philip II on the night before his assassination.<sup>137</sup> According to one anecdote, the king asked his treasurer Harpalos to send copies of dramatic texts by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides while on campaign (Plut. *Alex.* 8.3).

In addition to the classics, however, Alexander courted poets who could compose original works, much like Euripides had for his great-grandfather Archelaos. The best known of these is the satyric drama *Agon*, a work of political parody written by Python of Catane (or Byzantion)<sup>138</sup> to lampoon Harpalos, who absconded his post in Babylon and fled to Athens in 324 BCE, taking with him a large portion of Alexander's treasury funds.

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<sup>136</sup> See Hanink 2008, 118-19 and Revermann 1999/2000, 455-6.

<sup>137</sup> On productions of 'classic' repertoires of tragedies in the fourth century and later, see Nervegna 2014.

<sup>138</sup> Athenaeus records both possibilities for Python's origin. In addition, he suggests that Alexander may have been the author of the play (13.586d, 13.595e).



Two fragments totaling nineteen lines of the play are preserved in Athenaeus' discussion of courtesans in the thirteenth book of the *Deipnosophistai*.<sup>139</sup> In the first, Harpalos, (nicknamed "Pallides" for his political relationship with Athens)<sup>140</sup> is found sulking in a monument that he built out of his infatuation towards his deceased lover, Pythonike.<sup>141</sup> The second, following soon after the first, underscores the traitor's connection with Athens, harmonizing the king's personal animosity toward Harpalos with his political rivalry against the city:

(A) ἐκμαθεῖν δέ σου ποθῶ  
μακρὰν ἀποικῶν κείθεν, Ἀτθίδα χθόνα  
τίνες τύχαι καλοῦσιν ἢ πράττουσι τί.  
(B) ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον,  
ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον  
καὶ τὸν μάραθον ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ' οὐ μάλα.  
(A) καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἄρπαλον  
αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάσσονας  
σίτου διαπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.  
(B) Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται δ' ἴσως  
αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοῦχ ἐταίρας ἀρραβών. (*TrGF* 91 F 1.8-18)

(A) Since I'm living a long way from there,  
I'm eager to learn from you about the situation  
they call Attica, and how they're doing.  
(B) When they claimed they'd been reduced to slavery,  
they had enough of dinner. But now all they eat  
is beans and fennel, and no wheat at all.  
(A) Indeed, I hear that Harpalos sent them myriad measures  
of grain—at least as much as Agen did—  
and became a citizen.  
(B) This grain belonged to Glykera; maybe it'll be a down payment

<sup>139</sup> Athen. 595e-596b = *TrGF* 91 F.1

<sup>140</sup> Le Guen 2014, 267, referring to Sutton 1980, 16.

<sup>141</sup> *TrGF* 91 F.1.1-8 = Athen. 13.595e.

for their deaths, not the courtesan's!  
(transl. Olson 2006, 11 with minor adjustments)

The two speakers are unknown, but they introduce another key figure in the play — Agen, who is thought to represent Alexander.<sup>142</sup> The Athenian complaint of slavery that they refer to seems to recall the city's subjugation after Chaeronea and its subsequent revolt; the mocking tone (the Athenians claim to be slaves when, in fact, they are well-fed by their Macedonian handlers, including Agen himself in lines 15-16) suggests that the intended audience for this humor was Macedonian, and likely the assembled troops of Alexander's campaign.

According to Athenaeus, the play was performed at a '*Dionysia*' festival arranged on the banks of the Hydaspes river, though scholars have suggested several alternatives, including Athens and Babylon.<sup>143</sup> A date after Harpalos' flight to Athens gives us a *terminus post quem* for the play, though even the date for that event is a matter of debate as well (the range of suggestions is 327-324 BCE).<sup>144</sup> For the purposes of this study, it is not essential to pin this work down to a single year, but rather to note that Alexander's artistic

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<sup>142</sup> See Le Guen 2014, 267 with summary of arguments. This is ultimately speculative as Athenaeus tells us little else about the play or the character Agen.

<sup>143</sup> See Le Guen 2014, 262 for summary. Tritle 2009, for example, cites two pieces of internal evidence from the play to argue for an Athenian venue for the production: first, the play references Harpalos' honorary Athenian citizenship, which was granted in favor of a donation of grain during a time when Attica was impoverished (Athen. 13.596a-b); second, the fact that Athenaeus calls the occasion a '*Dionysia*' (*ibid.* 13.595e) suggests Athens as a venue. I do not accept either argument — *Dionysia* festivals (or dramatic festivals on the Athenian model) were commonplace throughout the Mediterranean by the end of the fourth century, and one could very well argue that a play that lampoons an Athenian benefactor would not have been an apt play to produce in front of the Athenian citizen body.

<sup>144</sup> Krumeich et al. 1999, 594 n.3 indicates that scholars have recently come to a tentative consensus on dating the flight to 324 BCE. A letter from Theopompos to Alexander informing him of Harpalos' activities (*FGrH* 115 F253-254b) might indicate that there was a delay between the date of Harpalos' flight and the point at which Alexander and the audience of soldiers would have learned of the affair.

circle not only staged select classics but were called on to create original, politically-charged works during the campaign.

The detailed account of the weddings at Susa (324 BCE) in the *History of Alexander* by Chares of Mytilene<sup>145</sup> provides the most substantial list of artists in Alexander's service at any given time. Before the wedding, which followed Persian custom, the king arranged for an elaborate program of entertainment for his guests at the ceremony, featuring some of the most well-known artists from the Greek world.<sup>146</sup>

θαυματοποιοὶ ἦσαν διαπρέποντες ... Σκύμνος Ταραντῖνος καὶ Φιλιστίδης Συρακόσιος Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Μιτυληναῖος· μεθ' οὗς ἐπεδείξατο ῥαψωδὸς Ἀλεξίς Ταραντῖνος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ ψιλοκιθαρισταὶ Κρατῖνος Μηθυμναῖος, Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Τήιος· ἐκιθαρώδησαν δὲ Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος. αὐλῶδοι δὲ παρῆλθον Διονύσιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης, Ὑπέρβολος Κυζικηνός· παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐληταί, οἱ πρῶτον τὸ Πυθικὸν ἠΰλησαν, εἴθ' ἐξῆς μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, Τιμόθεος, Φρύνιχος, Καφισίας, Διόφαντος, ἔτι δὲ Εὐῖος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. καὶ ἔκτοτε οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Διονυσοκόλακες Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν δώρων ὑπερβολάς, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἦσθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὑπεκρίθησαν δὲ τραγωδοὶ μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῶδοι δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων καὶ Ἀρίστων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Φασίμηλος ὁ ψάλτης. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες, φησί, στέφανοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταλάντων ἦσαν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων.'

(Athen. 12.538b-539a)

And there were preeminent conjurers...Skymnos of Tarentum and Philistides the Syracusan and Herakleitos the Mytilenian. After these men the rhapsode Alexis of Tarentum gave a performance. In addition, the instrumental kitharists Kratinos of Methymna, Aristonymos the Athenian, and Athenodoros of Teos came by; Herakleitos of Tarentum and Aristokrates of Thebes played the kithara as well. Besides these, Dionysios of Herakleia and Hyperbolos of Kyzikos sang to the *auloi*. *Aulos*-players also came by, who first played the Pythian song, and then in procession with the choruses: Timotheos, Phrynichos, Kaphisias, Diophantos, and also Euios the

<sup>145</sup> From the various fragments of his work, we learn that Chares accompanied Alexander's campaign from the outset of his expedition and rose to the rank of *eisangeleus* (usher) in his court.

<sup>146</sup> *FGrH* 125 F4 = Athen. 12.538b-539a. Cf. Ael. *VH* 8.7.

Chalkidian. And from that time forward, those who were formerly called “Dionysos’ flatterers” were called “Alexander’s flatterers” due to the excesses of their gifts, with which Alexander was pleased. And further, the tragic actors Thessalos, Athenodoros and Aristokritos gave performances, as well as the comic actors Lykon, Phormion, and Ariston. The dancer Phasimelos was also present. It is said that the crowns that were sent by the ambassadors and by other people were in the value of fifteen thousand talents.

Chares’ list of twenty-four individual artists, including twelve *ethnika*, reveals that these artists came to be in Alexander’s celebration from a broad geographical range (Magna Graecia, mainland Greece, and Ionia in particular). Athenodoros and Thessalos, already familiar figures from their performances and diplomatic roles in the Macedonian court, once again appear at the behest of their wealthy patron. It is unclear whether these artists were called upon to travel to the festival or whether they were already in the retinue of Alexander during the campaign, though the fact that the two tragic actors in particular perform multiple times for Alexander during the campaign suggests that they had at least been in regular contact.<sup>147</sup> We do know of one musician, Aristonikos, who served in the army and was killed in Bactria in 328/7 BCE.<sup>148</sup> Alexander dedicated a statue of him at Delphi, which depicted him holding his *kithara* in one hand and a spear in the other, suggesting the equal importance of both attributes (artistic and military) to the campaign.<sup>149</sup>

Chares’ use of the term *Alexandrokolakes* as a substitute for *Dionysokolakes* is quite striking. The nickname *Dionysokolakes* is already familiar from Aristotle, as dis-

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<sup>147</sup> Athenodoros was in Athens in 329 BCE, when he was victor at the *Dionysia*. It is uncertain whether he remained at the city or returned to the campaign, which by that year had reached Bactria.

<sup>148</sup> Arr. 4.16.6-7.

<sup>149</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 334e-f. see Tritle 2009, 267-8.

cussed above, but the substitution of Alexander in the nickname merits further consideration. Ceccarelli (2004, 10-12) notes two possibilities for the significance of this nickname for the general's entourage. One possibility, less likely but nevertheless intriguing, is that Alexander might have been implicitly compared to the Syracusan tyrant Dionysios II, who reigned from 367-44 BCE, shortly before Alexander came to power. In two passages from Athenaeus, the entourage of flatterers in Dionysios' court are referred to either as the *Dionysokolakes* or the *Dionysiokolakes* ("flatterers of Dionysios").<sup>150</sup> Neither passage mentions any artists in Dionysios' court, though his predecessor, Dioysios I, was a noted enthusiast for theatre, having won a victory for his tragedy at the *Lenaia* of 367 BCE in Athens.<sup>151</sup>

The second, and more compelling, explanation is that the nickname was meant to identify Alexander with the god Dionysos. This connection was a popular one in the Hellenistic period and was cultivated especially by the Ptolemaic dynasty as a central part of its propaganda.<sup>152</sup> In the famous *pompē* of Philadelphos, a procession that marked the opening of the *Ptolemaieia* festival, an entire section depicted the god's return from India as an analogue to Alexander's campaign. The section was notably led by the Ptolemaic

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<sup>150</sup> *Dionysokolakes*: Athen. 6.249e-f; *Dionysiokolakes*: Athen. 10.435e (= Theophrastus F548 Fortenbaugh). It is perhaps worth noting that in the *epitome* to the first passage, the term *Dionysiokolakes* is used. See Ceccarelli 2004, 10 and n. 42.

<sup>151</sup> See above n. 84.

<sup>152</sup> On the connection of Alexander's campaign to Dionysos' conquest of India, see Jeanmaire 1951, 351-372. The propagandistic character of this connection was recognized in antiquity: Eratosthenes of Cyrene, in his *Geographica*, rejected the Indian myth of Dionysos as having been invented for the sake of Alexander's reputation (Arr. *Anab.* 5.3.1; Str. 11.5.5 and 15.1.7.9). On Eratosthenes' criticisms of Ptolemaic propaganda, see Pamiyas 2004.

association of *technītai*, which formed part of the symbolic connection between the Ptolemies, Alexander, and their ancestral god, Dionysos (see discussion below, Ch. 3).

In light of this symbolic connection between the two figures, the entourage of artists who performed during Alexander's campaign recalls Diodoros' description of the *technītai* who followed Dionysos on campaign and were exempted from liturgies as a result (Diod. 4.5.4-5, see above, p. 1). This story, as noted above, was a mythical *aition* for the later Hellenistic associations that received exemptions and privileges for their services. In a similar fashion, the *Alexandrokolakes* were the closest historical precedent for the same associations. As a highly mobile and prestigious group of performers, their participation in festivals throughout the campaign elevated the prestige of the competitions and of Alexander himself.

Roughly four decades after Alexander's death, the Athenian *synodos* would receive their lavish honors from the Delphic Amphictyony, which allowed Athenian artists to travel and to perform unhindered throughout the Greek world (*F.D.* III.2.68, 61-94 [Ep. Cat. 1], 279/8 BCE). The extent of the Amphictyony's honors suggest that the *synodos* had existed for some time prior to the decree, having built up their reputation by touring in other cities. Without any positive evidence for the group's foundation, it is only possible to speculate as to what prompted Athenian artists to form their own *synodos*, but it is tempting to trace their inspiration to Alexander's entourage. As Chapter 2 explores, the *synodos* would eventually serve as an expression of Athenian cultural pre-eminence in the second-century celebrations of the *Pythaid* festivals at Delphi. In this respect, one might

interpret the *synodos* as an answer to the appeal of foreign patrons such as Alexander, who had attracted Athenian actors such as Athenodoros to perform at his festivals to the perceived detriment of Athens (see above). It is rather fitting, then, that one of the ambassadors sent to the Amphictyony by the association was a tragic actor named Neoptolemos (listed only by his first name and profession in line 94), who may have been the same actor who had served a crucial role in the negotiations leading to the Peace of Philocrates and had performed for Philip II on the night before the king's assassination.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Given the date of the decree (279/8 BCE), some identify this as a different Neoptolemos, possibly a son of the earlier (Stephanis 1988 no.1796; the famous Neoptolemos is listed as no.1797). The Peace of Philocrates was negotiated in 346 BCE, some 66 years prior. If it is, indeed, the same Neoptolemos in both instances, he would certainly have been at a ripe old age when the Athenian association secured its honors, and would have had to perform at Philip's court as a young man. Astonishing as it may have been, this is not out of the realm of possibility, and I am inclined to identify the Neoptolemos in this later inscription as the elder actor in part due to the fact that no patronym is given. If it were his son (for whom we have no evidence whatsoever), one might expect that a genitive Νεοπτόλεμου would have followed in recognition of his illustrious heritage.

## **Chapter 2. The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos***

### **Introduction**

This chapter explores the history and function of the Isthmian-Nemean and Athenian associations on the Greek mainland, proceeding chronologically from their earliest evidence in the third century BCE until the famous *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE that resolved a decades-long legal dispute between the two associations. The first section, which focuses on the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, argues that the federal association served as a primary means of legitimating the prestige of festivals through its powerful networks with the international community, including a working collaboration with the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of artists. This is demonstrated with a close look at documents from three festivals at which the *koinon* either participated or co-organized: the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* at Delphi, the *Agrionia* at Thebes, and the *Mouseia* at Thespiai.

The chapter then turns to the activity of the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai*, focusing in particular on their participation in the late second-century celebrations of the exclusively-Athenian *Pythaid* at Delphi. I explore the *synodos*' relationship to Athenian cultural policy in the context of these festivals, and conclude that the Athenian artists were an expression of Athenian cultural pre-eminence under Roman patronage in the late second century. This provides the necessary background for interpreting the lengthy *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE that settled a lengthy dispute between the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos*.



## I. The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*

The earliest evidence for the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* is a Delphic decree granting *promanteia* (right to consult the oracle before others), *prohedria* (first-row seating), and *prodikia* (right to have a case heard before others) to “the *koinon* of artists who travel together to Isthmos and Nemea” (τῶι κοινῶι τῶν τεχνιτᾶν | [το]ῖς ἐν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ Νεμέαν συμπορευ[ο]μένοις, *F.D.* III.1.85, 2-4 (ca. 280 BCE). These honors suggest that the *koinon* of artists was already well-recognized by the early third century BCE, but we have no evidence for the group’s foundation. The association’s title suggests that the association had some ties to the Isthmian and Nemean games, two of the four periodic festivals on the Greek mainland.<sup>154</sup> Indeed, the two festivals are consistently featured in the group’s nomenclature throughout their history. Yet, in contrast with the abundance of evidence for the activity of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* at local festivals on the mainland, we have no evidence outside of the association’s name that attests to their activity at Isthmia or Nemea.

Generally speaking, we know that both the Isthmian and Nemean games added musical competitions to their programs at some point in the fourth century, which would at least provide an occasion at which members of a Dionysiac association could perform and compete. However, as Le Guen (2004) notes, many of the major festivals continued to attract artists primarily on an individual basis and had no need to solicit the assistance

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<sup>154</sup> The noun Ἰσθμὸν in the title seems to refer to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, the location of the Isthmian games. See LSJ s.v. Ἰσθμοῖ (“on the Isthmus: at the Isthmian games”).

of a *koinon* of *technitai* to provide organization, promotion, or performers. In contrast, we know that at least Thebes and Thespiai solicited the help of the *koinon* for the organization of their new and reorganized festivals, granting the *koinon* considerable control over their festivals such that the association was recognized and presented as a co-organizer on equal standing with the *polis*.

The absence of evidence from Isthmia and Nemea may simply be due to the fact that the current epigraphic corpora from both sites is considerably smaller than other major sanctuaries. There may be as-yet undiscovered evidence that may illuminate the relationship that the *koinon* had with its titular festivals. It is also possible, however, that no such formal relationship existed. The two panhellenic sanctuaries may have been able to organize their major festivals and attract performers on an individual basis without the help of an artists' association.

In any case, one must consider why Thebes and Thespiai solicited the organizational assistance of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* instead of hiring performers on an individual basis as did Euboeans (*IG* XII.9.207, 294-288 BCE) and the Samians (*SEG* I.362, 306 BCE). I suggest that the reference to Isthmos and Nemea in the title of the *koinon* served as a marker of the prestige of its artists, who performed individually at celebrations of the Isthmian and Nemean games. By virtue of its members' established connection with the festivals, the *koinon* could elevate the status and recognition of smaller festivals to a wider Greek political community. To solicit their help *en bloc* at a local festival would have implicitly equated the smaller festival's stature with the larger Isthmian and

Nemean games. Thus, the function of the associations in this emerging festival network was akin to a sanctioning body that was an important first step in elevating the status of a festival in a broader international community. This hypothesis also explains why the *polis* of Athens never seems to have solicited the services of the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* for supplying performers at its major festival, the City *Dionysia*. Their activity is known to have occurred primarily outside of the city at Delphi and the court of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia as an export of the city's cultural product to the rest of the Greek world.

As the number of festivals founded by cities, kings, and federations rose in the Hellenistic period, it became increasingly important for local contests and sanctuaries to obtain recognition from the international community through various markers of status and distinction. One of these markers can be seen in the phenomenon of stephanitic (“crowned”) festivals, which offered the symbolic prestige of a crown to victors instead of the financial prizes of a “chrematic” festival. Another increasingly common marker was the equation of a local festival with one of the periodic festivals. Such local festivals adopted the marker of “isopythian”, “isonemean”, *vel sim*. The cities and sanctuaries in which these festivals took place obtained the protection of *asylia* for the duration of the competitions (and occasionally for a few days before and after).<sup>155</sup> These festivals, which were typically celebrated at less-frequent intervals, thus relied on the prestige of the crown prize or an explicit equation to the periodic festivals to attract foreign artists and

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<sup>155</sup> See, e.g., the guarantee of *asylia* by the Delphic Amphictyony for the sanctuary of Dionysos Kadmeios in Thebes for the *Agrionia* festival (*F.D.* III.1.351 *add.* p. 402, 228 BCE).

patrons and occasionally obtained the endorsement of kings and oracles to support their claim.<sup>156</sup>

The most essential step in raising the prestige of a given festival was the use of what Rutherford (2013) has shown to be an intricate network in which *theoroi* (sacred envoys) were tasked with the announcement of a new festival to other Greek communities and kings.<sup>157</sup> The success of a given festival's bid for preeminence depended on the acceptance of its elevated status throughout the resulting infrastructure of *poleis*, kings, and oracles. This process was often recorded for public view in the festival's city or sanctuary through the display of decrees from other states that accepted the terms proposed by visiting *theoroi*.<sup>158</sup>

Situated in this intricate and expanding network, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* of *technitai* offered the symbolic capital of their ties to two periodic festivals to the organizers of local mainland festivals who sought to obtain international distinction. This is particularly clear in the case of three mainland festivals at which the *koinon* was known to have been involved: the *Agrionia* at Thebes, the *Mouseia* at Thespiai, and the *Soteria* at Delphi. The epigraphic dossiers of each festival demonstrate that the *koinon* conferred its

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<sup>156</sup> On the distinction of a “crowned” contest (ἄγων στεφανίτης) from a “chrematic” contest (ἄγων χρηματίτης or ἀργυρίτης) and on the phenomenon of equating smaller festivals with the major periodic festivals in the Hellenistic period, see Chaniotis 2011, 22-23.

<sup>157</sup> See most recently Rutherford 2013 on the *theoria* and theoric networks. On the institution of the *theorodokoi* (officials tasked with receiving and hosting *theoroi* in their native communities) see Perlman 2000, Koller 1957-58 and Boesch 1908. On these and similar inter-state institutions of the Hellenistic period conceived *qua* networks, see Ma 2009.

<sup>158</sup> See, e.g., the dossier for the upgraded festival of Artemis Leukophryene inscribed on the walls of the agora at Magnesia on the Maeander (Slater and Summa 2013) or the recorded acceptances of the reformed Aitolian *Sotēria* at Delphi (Nachtergaele 1977, *Actes* 58-68).

symbolic capital through two means. First, its own ambassadors actively promoted these local festivals to other Greeks, so that the local festival would benefit from its established contacts and prestige. Second, it ensured an international slate of performers by networking with other associations and branches, including the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technītai* that was primarily active in the east.

### **I.1. The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Festivals of the Mainland**

One of the chief benefits of soliciting the organizational and promotional services of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* was its strong connection with colleagues in the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*. The earliest inscription that attests to the latter (*F.D.* III.3.218 B, 237/6 BCE?) is a guarantee of *asylia* to artists from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* from the Aitolians at Delphi, based on privileges that were previously given to the mainland artists (7-8). This protection allowed the artists of Ionia to travel to festivals on the mainland. In a later inscription from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* honoring one of its own members, Kraton son of Zotichos, they highlight their participation in the *Sotēria* at Delphi, the *Mouseia* at Thespiai, and the *Agrionia* at Thebes, among other contests across the Aegean Sea from their headquarters in Teos (*IG* XI 4, 1061):<sup>159</sup>

15 ... ὅπως διαμένηι εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ]  
 χρόνον ἢ παρὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀθάνατος δόξα, οὐς καὶ θεοὶ καὶ βασιλ[εῖς καὶ πάντες  
 Ἑλ]-  
 ληνες τιμῶσιν, δεδοκότες τήν τε ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν πᾶσι τεχν[ίταις πολέμου καὶ  
 εἰ]-

<sup>159</sup> I reproduce the text of Le Guen 2001 I, TE 45.

ρήνης, κατακολουθοῦντες τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμοῖς δι' οὓς [κ]αὶ ἀ[γωνίζονται  
τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦ]

Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν τῶν Ἑλικωνιάδων καὶ τοῦ [Ἡρακλέους, ἐν  
Δελφοῖς μὲν τοῖς]

20 Πυθίοις καὶ Σωτηρίοις, ἐν Θεσπιαῖς δὲ τοῖς Μουσείοις, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ τοῖς

Ἀγρ[ιωνίοις, εἶναι δοκοῦντες]

ἐκ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐσεβέστατοι· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·

...So that [there remains for all] time the undying esteem from the artists, whom the gods and the kings and [all] Greeks honor, having given *asylia* and *asphaleia* to all the artists [in war] and peace, heeding the oracles of Apollo by which [the artists compete in the contests of] Apollo Pythios and of the Heliconian Muses and of (Hera-  
akles, that is, in Delphi) the *Pythia* and *Sotēria*, in Thespias the *Mouseia*, and in Thebes the *Agr[ionia]*, seeming to be] the most pious of all the Greeks. Good fortune!

It is clear from this list that members of the Ionian-Hellespontine association traveled to the mainland in order to participate in these festivals, which were organized or co-organized by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*.<sup>160</sup> No other evidence exists for the role played by the associations of *technitai* in the *Pythia*, but several inscriptions attest to the organizational role played by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* in the other three festivals mentioned in the decree: the *Sotēria*, *Mouseia*, and *Agrionia*.

### **I.1.a. The *Sotēria* at Delphi: Historical Background**

The *Sotēria* at Delphi was first instituted by the Amphictyony as a musical and dramatic festival that celebrated the defeat of the Gauls in 279 BCE, with victory credited to the

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<sup>160</sup> It is notable that the Ionian association chose to foreground their participation in these four mainland festivals in this decree, as they are also known to have organized and participated in festivals in their own territory, including the local *Dionysia* and *panegyris* at Teos (where their headquarters were located) and the reorganized *Leukophryeneia* in Magnesia on the Maeander. It seems that their ability to participate in such distant contests was a point of pride.

divine protection of Apollo.<sup>161</sup> The festival is known to us only through epigraphic evidence, which primarily consists of lists of participants and victors as well as responses from *poleis* announcing their official recognition of the contests.<sup>162</sup> In the mid-third century the Aitolians, who had gained control of the sanctuary by incrementally obtaining a majority of the seats on the Amphictyonic council,<sup>163</sup> reorganized the *Sotēria* into a penteteric festival with major changes that aimed to enhance its international prestige. These measures included the addition of athletic competitions to the program, a request for cities to recognize the musical contests as “isopythian” and the athletic and hippic games as “isonemean”, and establishing the games as “crowned” (further equating it to the traditional periodic festivals).<sup>164</sup>

Prior to this reorganization, the growing power and consolidation of the Aitolian League in the early third century was perceived as a threat by some of its neighbors.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> On the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi, see Polyb. 2.35.7 and Paus. 10.19.4-23.9. Cf. Champion 1996 on Polybius’ account and its acceptance of the Aitolian version of events. The standard collection of sources and study of the invasion and festival is Nachtergaele 1977. It is impossible to determine the date of the initial celebration of the *Sotēria*, though it is typically presumed to have been as early as 278 BCE, the year after the victory. See also Le Guen 2001 I 166-7 for a general introduction.

<sup>162</sup> Communities which responded to the Aitolian appeals for recognizing the festival include Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 680, 245 BCE), Chios (*SI*G<sup>3</sup> 402, 246/5 BCE), Tenos (*F.D.* III.1.482, 246/5 BCE), Ios/Andros (*F.D.* III.1.481, 246/5 BCE), Smyrna (*F.D.* III.1.483, 246/5 BCE), and Abdera (Nachtergaele 1977 *Actes* 26, 246/5 BCE). According to Beloch (1927 IV.2, 492), the festival coincided with the autumn equinox.

<sup>163</sup> On the Aitolians at Delphi, see Flacelière 1937 (esp. 57-66) and Walbank 1984, 233-4.

<sup>164</sup> For a summary discussion of these changes, see Sifakis 1967, 65. The date of this reorganization hinges on the dates of responses from Greek communities recognizing the festival and its elevated status. Robert 1930 argues for a *terminus post quem* of 246 BCE for Smyrna’s acceptance in *F.D.* III.1. 483, which he also takes to be the *terminus post quem* for all other cities’ acceptance of the Aitolian festival. 246 BCE has consequently come to stand as the conventional date for the festival’s reorganization (Le Guen 2001 I, 166). One should not necessarily assume that all of the cities accepted these changes in the same year; the festival may have been reorganized gradually as it took on greater recognition in successive celebrations.

<sup>165</sup> See Scholten 2013 for a brief overview, though Grainger 1999 remains the standard book-length study of the Aitolians.

The Aitolians were most vigorously opposed by the Athenians under Demetrios Poliorketes after his takeover of the city in 294 BCE. This is most clearly illustrated in the famous Ithyphallic hymn sung by the Athenians, in which they implore him to help against a perceived Aitolian threat (Douris *FGrHist* 76 F 13 = Ath. 7.253 d-f). Apart from the raids mentioned in the hymn,<sup>166</sup> the conflict between Demetrios and the Aitolians largely centered on the control of Delphi and the Amphictyonic council. This conflict had major implications for the sanctuary's festivals, most notably the *Pythia*. The occasion for the Ithyphallic hymn was possibly a celebration of the festival in 290 BCE, which Demetrios held in Athens due to the Aitolians' control of access to Delphi.<sup>167</sup> In the following year, Demetrios launched an unsuccessful attack against the Aitolians and Pyrrhos of Epiros and was consequently forced to reach terms of peace that ensured that all Greeks would continue to have access to the sanctuary for the purpose of attending the games under the protection of the Amphictyony.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Σφίγγα...Αἰτωλόν, ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, ὥσπερ ἡ παλαιά, τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας φέρει ("the Aitolian Sphinx sitting on a rock like the ancient one, who seizes and carries away all our people", transl. Austin 2006, 93-4 with minor changes). This may be an exaggeration on the part of the author of the poem, as there is little evidence that the Aitolians conducted attacks on Attic soil. See the discussion in Tracy 2004, 28-45 (though see also Thonemann 2005, 86). Grainger (1999, 91) argues that the passage in the hymn refers to Aitolian attacks on Demetrios' supply lines, which his "Athenian sycophants" described as brigandage (91). See also his important discussion at 3-25 on the historiographic problems raised by the unexamined association of Aitolians with piracy in ancient and modern discussions.

<sup>167</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 40.7-8. Grainger 1999 argues that the Aitolians controlled the access roads to Delphi and not the sanctuary itself (91-2). See Kuhn 2006, 269-72 on the celebration of the *Pythia* in the context of Demetrios' religious reforms in Athens. Beloch 1927, iv.1, 227 first described the Athenian *Pythia* of 290 as a 'protest'. It is typically assumed that the Aitolians also held a *Pythia* at Delphi (see Kuhn 2006, n.25).

<sup>168</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 41.2 and *Pyrr.* 7.4. On Demetrios' unsuccessful campaign against the Aitolians, see Grainger 1999, 6-7 and 90-1. The terms for peace are preserved in *SEG* 48.558 (See Lefevre 1998b for discussion).



This lasting political tension over who controlled the sanctuary, including the organization of (and access to) its festivals, provides an important background to the activity of the associations and the second-century legal battle between the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos*. Perhaps in order to shield themselves from this political turbulence, the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* petitioned the Amphictyony successfully for *asylia* and *ateleia* a mere decade after Demetrios celebrated his Athenian *Pythia* in protest against the Aitolians' control of Delphi (F.D. III.2.68, 279/8 BCE).

#### **I.1.b. The Amphictyonic *Sotēria* (279-246/5? BCE)**

The involvement of the *technitai* in the *Sotēria* is known from a series of at least seven participants' lists for the Amphictyonic festival in Delphi. The dates of these lists (and therefore of the particular celebrations of the festival) have long been a subject of debate grounded in the notoriously difficult chronology of Delphi in the third century.<sup>169</sup> The following table provides a concordance of the lists discussed here with the dates proposed for each inscription by Aneziri 2003, Le Guen 2001, Nachtergaele 1977, and Lefevre 1995:<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Because they are dated by Delphic archons and *hieromnemones* (representatives to the Amphictyonic council), the participants and victors lists for the *Sotēria* have been centerpieces in scholars' efforts at producing a third century chronology at Delphi. Most attempts at determining a chronology rely on counting the number of Aitolians who appear as *hieromnemones* in the official acts of the Delphic Amphictyony, following the assumption that their number gradually increased with the growth of the Aitolian *koinon* over the third century (see Knoepfler 1995, 137-40 and Lefevre 1998, 161-7). For a summary of arguments on the dating of the lists of Amphictyonic *Sotēria* participants, see Aneziri 2003, 338-40; Le Guen 2001 I, 166-7; Nachtergaele 1977, 273; and Sifakis 1967, 73-4.

<sup>170</sup> Following Aneziri 2003 and Le Guen 2001, I do not include Nachtergaele 1977 *Actes* 6 (*SEG* 18.231), a short six-line fragment of a participants' list that is badly damaged on its left side and consequently impossible to attach to a particular year (see Nachtergaele 1977, 412).

Table 1: Dates Proposed for the Participants Lists of the Amphictyonic <i>Sotēria</i>				
List no.	Aneziri 2003	Le Guen 2001	Nachtergaele 1977	CID IV. ____ (dates per Lefevre 1995)
1	Ga1 261/0	TE 24B 265/4-259/8? or 264/3?	<i>Actes</i> 4 265/4-259/8?	31 268/7, 266/5 or 264/3
2	Ga2 260/59	TE 24A 265/4-259/8? or 260/59?	<i>Actes</i> 3 265/4-259/8?	42 260/59
3	Ga3 258/7	TE 24C 262/1-258/7? or 258/7?	<i>Actes</i> 5 262/1 or 258/7?	45 258/7
4	Ga4 256/5	TE 24D 260/59-256/5? or 254/3?	<i>Actes</i> 7 260/59 or 256/5?	47 254/3
5	Ga5 255/4	TE 24E 259/8-255/4?	<i>Actes</i> 8 259/8 or 255/4?	48 252/1
6	Ga6 254/3	TE 24F 258/7-254/3?	<i>Actes</i> 9 258/7 or 254/3?	53 250/49
7	Ga7 253/2	TE 24G 257/6-253/2?	<i>Actes</i> 10 257/6 or 253/2?	55 248/7

For our purposes there is little at stake in arguing for one of the proposed chronologies over another, but the issues that have been raised in the continuing debate pertain to the organization of the festival and the role of the *technitai* therein. As one can see by comparing the proposed dates of Nachtergaele and Lefevre, one of the main issues in dating the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* lists is the festival's periodicity. There is no such debate for the later Aitolian *Sotēria*, which was clearly penteteric.<sup>171</sup> None of the documents related to the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* indicate the frequency of the festival's celebrations. Holding a festival less frequently (as trieteric or penteteric, for example) helped to increase its prestige in the international community: such a measure would allow participat-

<sup>171</sup> In their official response that recognizes the Aitolian festival (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 402), the Chians resolve to appoint *theoroi* for the *Sotēria* every fifth year (ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα) at the same time when the *theoroi* for another festival were chosen (28-30). See below on the headers of each list.

ing city-states more time to organize funds for the festival and the infrequency of celebrations would make a victory in competition that much more significant for an individual. Such a move might be expected for a festival of this importance at Delphi, especially considering the Aitolians' reorganization of the *Sotēria* into a penteteric celebration equal in status with the Pythian and Nemean games.

Nachtergaeel (1977, 269-70), following the *communis opinio* and the early study of Kahrstedt,<sup>172</sup> concluded that the Amphictyonic festival was “probably” annual based on the consistency seen in the administrators named at the top of each list.<sup>173</sup> Knoepfler 1993, however, following Daux's earlier chronology based on his proposed links between Athenian and Delphic archons (which was apparently overlooked by Nachtergaeel) proposed that the festival was trieteric,<sup>174</sup> which Lefevre followed in separating each list by two modern calendar years.<sup>175</sup> The specific dates proposed for each inscription are based

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<sup>172</sup> Kahrstedt 1937, 394. Those accepting the annual periodicity also include Flaceliere 1937 (147), Robert 1930 (331), and Sifakis 1967 (64). See Aneziri 2003, 338 and n.18 for a summary.

<sup>173</sup> Specifically, he cites the consistent number of Aitolians in the list of *hieromnemons* (the argument follows that if these were seven lists spanning fourteen or twenty-eight calendar years, one might expect an increasing number of Aitolians to reflect their growing control over the Amphictyonic council) and the fact that the priest of Dionysos is the same individual for lists 1-3 and 4-7 (which would be more likely in the case of a regular annual festival).

<sup>174</sup> Knoepfler 1995, 154-5.

<sup>175</sup> Trieteric (“three-yearly”) and Penteteric (“five-yearly”) frequencies should be understood with inclusive reckoning (i.e. a trieteric festival would happen every two modern calendar years; penteteric festivals every four modern calendar years).

on two factors: the Delphic archons<sup>176</sup> (whose names are preserved only on lists 4-7)<sup>177</sup> and the number of Aitolians listed as *hieromnemes* based on the assumption that a greater number should generally indicate a later date.<sup>178</sup>

The organizing role of the *technitai* in each festival is evident from the list of officials at the top of each participants list, beginning with the Delphic archon, the *hieromnemes* who served on the Amphictyonic council, and in some cases a secretary.<sup>179</sup> In the headings of lists 1 and 2, a priest from the *technitai* (ἐπι ἱερέως δὲ [name] ἐκ τῶν τεχνιτῶν) is listed after the state and sanctuary officials,<sup>180</sup> after which it is declared that a *koinon* of *technitai* donated the entire contest to Apollo and the Amphictyony: [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπέδωκε τῷ [ι θεῷ | κ]αὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν εἰς τὰ Σωτ[ήρια] | τὸν

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<sup>176</sup> The chronology of the Delphic archons depends on synchronizing individuals with Athenian archons. The foundational work was carried out by Dinsmoor 1930 and 1939; Flaceliere 1937; Daux 1940; and Manni 1961. See Nachtergaele 1977, 273.

<sup>177</sup> The fragments of lists 1-3, which were inscribed on marble *stelai*, were found scattered in secondary deposition throughout the site of Delphi during excavations. Lists 4-7, however, can be seen in their original position and in their entirety (with few lacunae) on the Polygonal Wall near the Naxian Sphinx base, where they would have been visible to anyone making his or her way along the sacred way to the temple of Apollo. It is generally agreed that there is one list that should fall between lists 3 and 4, to which the very fragmentary Nachtergaele 1977 *Actes* 6 may belong (see Aneziri 2003, 338, and Kahrstedt 1937, 395).

<sup>178</sup> See Nachtergaele 1977, 273, where he provides a table with the dates proposed by earlier scholars for the archons in each of the *Sotēria* lists. The lynchpin for the dating of the Aitolian *Sotēria* is the Athenian archonship of Polyeyktos, under whom the city issued its recognition of the festival. On the dating of Polyeyktos, see Nachtergaele 1976 and (*contra*) Elwyn 1990.

<sup>179</sup> The formula for their listing is as follows: ἐπι [name] ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἱερομνημονούντων [names], γραμματεύοντος [name].

<sup>180</sup> CID IV 31, 7-8; CID IV 42, 3-4.

ἀγῶνα παντελῇ (CID IV.31, 8-11).<sup>181</sup> In list 3, only the priest is mentioned after the Delphic archon and *hieromnemons*, with no reference made to a *koinon* of *technitai*.<sup>182</sup> Lists 4-7 name the priest immediately after the Delphic archon and before the list of *hieromnemons*.<sup>183</sup>

At first glance, It is not clear whether the *koinon* of *technitai* named in lists 1 and 2 refers to a single association (e.g., the Isthmian-Nemean or Ionian-Hellespontine *koina*) or an *ad hoc* gathering of artists who took part in the festival. As we look more closely at the evidence provided by the names and *ethnika* of the participants, however, it seems most likely that the artists came from multiple associations whose membership spanned the Hellenistic Mediterranean, with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* providing the majority of individual participants.

Furthermore, it seems that the *koinon* of *technitai*, who are explicitly mentioned in lists 1 and 2, were no longer involved in the organization of the *Sotēria* by the year of list 3. All three lists, however, name the same individual as the priest of Dionysos in the fes-

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<sup>181</sup> As Nachtergaele (1977, 300) notes, this wording suggests that the *koinon* received no payment for their participation in the festival (there is no evidence that performers who belonged to a *koinon* of *technitai* received payments from the association), which seems to have involved providing the performers for particular events as well as some organizing administrative role. In a later participants list for the winter *Sotēria* (a festival unknown outside the single inscription) the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* specifies that they performed at the festival free of charge (SIG<sup>3</sup> 690, 4). The donation of “the entire *agōn*” seems to imply an administrative role in organizing the festival that may be reflected in the priest of Dionysos being included among the administrators at the head of some of the lists.

<sup>182</sup> CID IV 45, 8-9: ἐ[πι ιερέως] / [δὲ Πυθοκλέως] τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου Ἑρ[μιονέως].

<sup>183</sup> The formula for the heading of each list was thus changed slightly to the following: ἐπὶ [name] ἄρχοντος, ἱερέως δὲ [name], ἱερομνημονούντων [names]. The archon is presumably still from Delphi. Because no priest mentioned in lists 1-3 comes from any group other than the *koinon* of *technitai*, it seems most likely that the priest still came from their ranks for the years of lists 4-7 (Aneziri 2003, 276).

tival: the *technitēs* Pythokles, son of Aristarchos, from Hermione,<sup>184</sup> which suggests that a *koinon* of artists continued to be involved with the festival, as one of its members continued to hold a prominent position in the header of the festival’s participants list. One possible explanation for their disappearance from the header may be that the artists no longer “donated the entire contest” to the Amphictyony, perhaps collecting fees for their participation. No record of prizes given for the *Sotēria* survives, so we can only speculate on the rewards (financial or otherwise) given to artists for the festival. Because the Aitolian *Sotēria* is explicitly declared a stephanitic (or “crowned”) festival,<sup>185</sup> it is typically assumed that the earlier Amphictyonic *Sotēria* must have been chrematic.

Under each header, a list of competitors is introduced with the phrase οἷδε ἡγωνίσαντο (“the following individuals competed”), after which the artists are grouped according to the events in which they performed at the festival. These included musical contests,<sup>186</sup> men's and boys' dithyrambic choruses,<sup>187</sup> and dramatic performances (both

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<sup>184</sup> An epigram from Hermione honoring Pythokles from the mid-third century BCE (*IG* IV 682) notes that he was a victor at the *Nemea*, *Isthmia*, and at additional festivals in Thespiai and Thebes (presumably the *Agrionia* and *Mouseia*, though the inscription is lacunose at points where these might have been mentioned). It also states that he was given gifts by kings for his music (line 15). See Stephanis 1988, no. 2174.

<sup>185</sup> See Nachtergaele 1977, 299-302 (on the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* as a chrematic festival) and 328-9 (on the Aitolian *Sotēria* as a stephanitic festival).

<sup>186</sup> For a table of the festival program and its correspondence to the eight lists, see Sifakis 1967, 73. Musical competitors included rhapsodes, *kithara* players, *kitharodoi* (singers to the accompaniment of the *kithara*), and *prosodia* poets.

<sup>187</sup> The personnel for these competitions included choral *auletai*, *didaskaloi*, and *choreutai* (choral singers) designated as men or boys for separate competitions.

tragedy and comedy).<sup>188</sup> Each individual is identified by his name, patronym, and *ethnikon*, which allows the reader to discern the impressive geographic range from which the festival was able to draw its participants. This range seems to have been an important point of emphasis for the Amphictyony, given that they chose to provide a list of *all* participants in the festival, whereas the later Aitolian *Sotēria* lists include only victors in the festival's competitions.<sup>189</sup> In fact, the only comparable "participants list" of this type from anywhere in the Greek world are the fourth-century *Fasti* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2318) and *Didaskaliai* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2319-24) in Athens, neither of which list the individual members of the choruses that performed in the *Dionysia*.

As Lists 4-7 are inscribed next to one another on the Polygonal Wall, they provide a unique and important glimpse at the international range of participation at a festival over successive celebrations, and therefore give modern readers a sense of the organizational reach of the *koinon* of *technitai*. TABLE 2 provides the number of times a particular *ethnikon* appears in the four lists in order of frequency, and FIGURE 1 shows the relative contributions of different communities to the *Sotēria* over the four successive celebrations.

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<sup>188</sup> Individuals were identified as tragic actors (*tragoidoi*), directors (*didaskaloi*, both comic and tragic), flute players (*auletai* both comic and tragic), comic actors (*kōmikoi*), members of the comic chorus, a *didaskalos* of the comic chorus, *auletai* of the comic chorus, and costume lenders (*himatiomisthai*). The absence of individuals identified as members of a tragic chorus suggests that the dithyrambic choruses served that function as well (Sifakis 1967, 72).

<sup>189</sup> See Nachtergaele 1977, 475-83 (*Actes* 58-68).

Table 2: Origins of Participants in the Amphictyonic <i>Sotēria</i> (Based on <i>ethnika</i> in lists 4-7)									
Boiotia	58	Zakynthos	5	Ephesos	2	Akarnania	1	Rhodes	1
Athens	38	Keos	4	Hermione	2	Bosporos	1	Samos	1
Sikyon	32	Kleitorion	4	Kephallenia	2	Chios	1	Sinope	1
Arkadia	21	Miletos	4	Knidos	2	Elis	1	Soloi	1
Argos	10	Pellene	4	Kynaitha	2	Gargara	1	Sparta	1
Chalkis	7	Aigina	3	Kythera	2	Histiaia	1	Tenedos	1
Herakleia	7	Corinth	3	Philippoi	2	Kyrene	1	Tenos	1
Megara	7	Kassandraia	3	Taras	2	Messene	1	Thessalia	1
Aitolia	6	Salamis	3	Abdera	1	Myrina	1	Thronion	1
Ambrakia	5	Byzantion	2	Abydos	1	Naukratis	1	Troezen	1
Tegea	5	Epeiros	2	Achaia	1	Opous	1	Unknown	9

Looking at both TABLE 2 and FIGURE 1,<sup>190</sup> it is immediately clear (as has already been noted by previous scholarship) that there was a preponderance of mainland artists at the festival. Boiotians formed a clear majority, followed by Athenians, Sikyonians, and Arkadians. The choice (whether made by each artist or by their association) to use regional *ethnika* such as “Boiotian” as opposed to a *polis*-ethnic (none of the lists include a “Theban”, and only one “Opountian” appears) has been attributed to the strength of the

<sup>190</sup> The figures for TABLE 2 come from Sifakis 1967, Table 4. The four lists included in the count are *CID* IV.47, 48, 53, and 55.



federal *koina*, particularly the Boiotian League, in the third century.<sup>191</sup> Given their relative strength in the Amphictyonic council as it grew through the third century, it is rather surprising that “Aitolians” are so heavily outnumbered in these four lists (the *ethnikon* occurs six times). This may suggest that the Boiotians and Athenians, through their presence in the Amphictyonic council, exerted greater control over who participated in the *Sotēria* before the Aitolians reformed the festival.



**Figure 1: Map with Proportional Symbols indicating origins of artists for the Amphictyonic Soteria (based on TABLE 2). Larger circles indicate a proportionally higher number of artists from a particular location or region.**

<sup>191</sup> See Roesch 1982, 497-500 for a thorough overview of the use of the *ethnikon* Βοιώτιος/Βοιώτοξ in the epigraphical record from the early fourth to the early second centuries BCE. For the period specifically pertaining to the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* lists, he notes that the *ethnikon* was sometimes (though not always) combined with a second, more specific, *ethnikon* to designate the *polis* at which a Boiotian was a citizen. Hence, Thebans could be identified simply as Βοιώτιοι, Βοιώτιοι ἐξ Θηβῶν (Roesch counts seven instances of this phrase), or Θηβαῖοι Βοιωτοί (three instances). Competitors listed in agonistic catalogues *uniformly* identified as simply Βοιωτοί (1982, 499). On Boiotian collective identity in the Archaic and early Classical periods, see Larson 2007.

Though mainlanders make up a clear majority of the participants in the festival, the participation of Greeks from farther afield is significant. Individual Ionian *ethnika* (e.g., “Milesian” or “Ephesian”) appear only a few times over the four lists, but the region *collectively* shows a relatively strong contribution to the *Sotēria*, as seen in the concentration of points in the regions of Ionia and the Hellespont (FIGURE 1). The lists also include individuals with origins in Cyprus, North Africa, and Magna Graecia. Although they constitute a minority relative to the artists who hail from the mainland, the conceptual map these lists formed in the reader’s mind would be noticeably different if there were no artists from Ionia or other places further afield.

An important question presents itself in this data. Assuming that these individuals belonged to a *koinon* of *technitai* (as with the first three catalogues), were they members of a local (Isthmian-Nemean) association, or did they belong to a larger *koinon* of *technitai* comprising multiple local associations including the Athenian and Ionian-Hellespontine associations known from other documents? This issue is central to an understanding of how the associations worked with one another in the context of a festival.<sup>192</sup> In his early study of the artists, Klaffenbach argued that the Isthmian-Nemean, Ionian-Hellespontine, and Athenian associations all sent members to the major international festivals (including the *Sotēria*), which he believed the three groups shared through agreements (*syn-*

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<sup>192</sup> This summary of scholarship is in large part indebted to Sifakis 1967 136-7.

*thēkai*) like those mentioned in the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE.<sup>193</sup> Ferguson, on the other hand, suggested that all of the artists were members of the Isthmian-Nemean association, noting that it typically referred to itself as a *koinon* of *technitai* in its official title.<sup>194</sup> This followed Pomtow's earlier argument that the Isthmian-Nemean association maintained control of all festivals at Delphi from 268-130 BCE.<sup>195</sup> Robert, following these conclusions, argued that, rather than understanding the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* to be panhellenic in its appeal, the local *koinon* must have recruited its members from throughout the *oikoumenē* (1926, 32).

Pomtow's and Ferguson's arguments have for the most part held sway since.<sup>196</sup> One of the rare dissenters to this prevailing view is Sifakis, who points to the honorific inscription from the Ionian artists to Kraton listing "the *Sotēria* at Delphi" among the festivals at which they participate as unassailable proof that the Ionian-Hellespontine association was involved in the organization of the festival at some point. He nevertheless leaves open the question of *when* they had such a role in organizing the festival, or whether they had such a role from the festival's inception (which would be earlier than any of the other evidence that survives for their association). Part of the issue, he argues, is that the earlier scholarship understood the associations as exclusive "troupes", whereas

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<sup>193</sup> Klaffenbach 1914, 21. In the case of the *Sotēria* lists, however, he argues that the Ionian-Hellespontine association was not yet formed due to the fewer number of participants from that region compared to the mainland.

<sup>194</sup> Ferguson 1934, 323-4. In his earlier study of Hellenistic Athens (1911), he compares the associations of artists to mercenary groups recruiting soldiers from throughout the *oikoumene* (322).

<sup>195</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 424, n. 1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 489, n. 6; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 690, n. 1; see esp. the commentary on *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 692.

<sup>196</sup> See *inter al.* Flacelière 1937, 143-4 and the summary of scholarship in Sifakis 1967, 137.

they are better conceived as “guilds” or “trade unions” — in other words, the *koina* existed to serve the artists by providing access to festival networks, and not the other way around.<sup>197</sup>

Both Le Guen and Aneziri reconcile these differing views by making the important distinction between the association organizing the festival (both agree that the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* is indicated by the title and the fact that the priests for lists 1-7 come from the Peloponnese) and the artists participating in the contests (those from other associations could and did participate at the *Sotēria* and other mainland festivals).<sup>198</sup> Both point to the evidence of the *Mouseia* and *Agrionia* festivals, which were explicitly co-organized by the Isthmian-Nemean association and the *poleis* of Thespiiai and Thebes, respectively (see below). Aneziri further argues that κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν constitutes a *terminus technicus* that can only refer to a specific local association, and that any visitor to Delphi in the third century would have reasonably inferred that the Isthmian-Nemean association was indicated by the shorter title (2003, 275-6).<sup>199</sup>

While I agree that the distinction between organization and participation is key and offers the possibility for an elegant resolution to the continuing debate over which

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<sup>197</sup> With regard to the *koinon* of *technitai*, he writes: “I should rather understand τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν as meaning the *technitai* in general, acting as a unity, and not a certain *koinon*, guild, in the technical sense of the word.” (1967, 146)

<sup>198</sup> Le Guen 2001 I 266; Aneziri 2003, 276-7.

<sup>199</sup> She also cites Nachtergaele’s argument that the emphasis on the donation of “an entire contest” only carries its force if a single association did so (“l’insistance qu’il y a dans τὸν ἀγῶνα παντελῆ prend toute sa valeur si un seul κοινὸν était représenté”, 1977, 304). Yet, a simpler reading would be that the emphasis on donating an “entire” contest shows the scale of the artists’ generosity, not the size or scale of their association.

associations were involved in the *Sotēria*, I do not think it holds up to the wording of the participants lists. The *koinon* of *technitai* is credited with “dedicating the *entire contest*” to the festival, which suggests that *every* performer listed in each year’s entry notionally belonged to this *koinon* that performed for free. Further, I am reluctant to agree with Aneziri that a third-century visitor to Delphi would supply the Isthmian-Nemean association’s full name to “τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν”, particularly if the visitor were not from the mainland. In the inscriptions pertaining to the *Agrionia* and *Mouseia*, it is made explicitly clear that the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (identified by its full title) served as co-organizer with the cities of Thebes and Thespiiai. It therefore seems reasonable to expect that if the same association co-organized the *Sotēria*, it would have been sure to use its full title to take credit. Furthermore, we know of at least two instances in which the Ionian-Hellespontine and Isthmian-Nemean associations are mentioned in the same document or set of inscriptions from the mainland, though this evidence admittedly post-dates the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* lists.<sup>200</sup>

The available evidence does not allow us to conclude with absolute certainty whether an individual association or a larger *koinon* of multiple associations organized the festival. While it is clear that members of multiple associations took part in the cele-

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<sup>200</sup> In the first document (*IG* IX<sup>2</sup> 1.175, 237/6 BCE), the Aitolians grant the same privileges of *asylia* and *asphaleia* to the Ionian-Hellespontine association that were given previously to the Isthmian-Nemean artists. In the second, a pair of inscriptions on adjacent faces of a stone from Thebes (*IG* VII, 2413-14, 146/5 BCE) records letters from a Roman consul, most likely Mummius, guaranteeing privileges to the Ionian-Hellespontine and Isthmian-Nemean *koina*. An as-yet unpublished document known by Ch. Kritzas (see Kallet-Marx 1995, 349 n. 34 and Ferray 2000, 185-6) records a dispute concerning the *technitai* at Argos under the proconsul L. Gellius, which apparently confirms Mummius’ involvement with the *technitai*. See Aneziri 2003, 305-316 for a discussion of the evidence for collaboration between the various associations.

brations, Ismard's and d'Esurac's studies have shown that the term *koinon* need not necessarily imply a specific association without the full title.<sup>201</sup> I think the safest conclusion is that the use of *koinon* in the *Sotēria* lists indicates an *ad hoc* gathering of artists that existed as a group solely in the context of the festival. This does not preclude the involvement of artists from the Isthmian-Nemean or Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (I follow Sifakis' argument that they seem to have worked in collaboration with one another), though it argues strongly against the exclusive control over the festival by a single association. In the context of the international sanctuary, where we find evidence for three major associations, the use of this phrase to indicate a gathering of artists makes sense as an umbrella term for an international array of performers, regardless of their membership in a particular association.<sup>202</sup>

### **I.1.c. The Aitolian *Sotēria* and Winter *Sotēria* (246/5? - mid-2nd c. BCE)**

None of the documents pertaining to the Aitolian *Sotēria* mention a priest or association of *technitai*, which suggests that the associations no longer had any administrative role after the Aitolians took control of the festival.<sup>203</sup> Instead, the festival program was principally run by an Aitolian agonothele, whose name was inscribed at the top of the each cel-

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<sup>201</sup> Ismard 2007 and d'Esurac 1990.

<sup>202</sup> The fact that the Amphictyony chose to include every artist's *ethnikon* in its full lists of participants suggests that this *koinon* was credited with providing an international program of artists. This is further underscored by the choice to inscribe the lists in a conspicuous location on the Polygonal Wall, where all of the sanctuary's visitors could see them as they made their way to the Temple of Apollo and the theater above.

<sup>203</sup> Accordingly, neither Le Guen nor Aneziri include any lengthy discussion of the later festival in their studies. See Le Guen 2001 I 173 (TE 25: "Dossier des Soteria Etoliennes et Post-Etoliennes").

ebriation's catalogue, followed by the *hieromnemes* and the victors of each competition.<sup>204</sup> Because the records do not include the *ethnika* of victors, it is impossible to compare the geographic range of its participants to that of the Amphictyonic festival. It is nevertheless clear that the Aitolians intended to elevate the festival to panhellenic status. Six surviving decrees from Greek *poleis* formally recognize the festival as crowned, "isonemean" (for the hippic and gymnastic contests) and "isopythian" (for the musical contests).

The simplest explanation for this administrative change is that the program of the festival, which now included gymnastic and hippic contests, expanded beyond the Dionysian artists' purview of music and drama. This shift also meant that the Aitolians needed to find an administrative replacement to ensure that their festival continued to attract international participation, a feature that was previously guaranteed by the *koinon* of *technitai*, as seen above. For the organization of the festival itself, the solution was an Aitolian agonotheke, while for the promotion of the festival, the solution seems to have been a network of Aitolian *theoroi* who proclaimed the new festival throughout the Greek world, as attested by thirteen inscriptions, including a funerary urn from Hadra, Egypt, for the Delphian *theoros* Sotion, who died while proclaiming the *Sotēria* at Alexandria.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> See Nachtergaele 1977, *Actes* 58-68.

<sup>205</sup> *OGIS* 36. On the dating of this document, see Sifakis 1967, 67-8. See Nachtergaele 1977, *Actes* 28-41 for a summary of documents for the Aitolian *Sotēria*. Champion 1999 infers from the language of the decrees recording the acceptance of the newly-reorganized festival that the Aitolians sought to heighten their role in the defense of the sanctuary against the Gauls in 279/8 at the expense of the traditional narrative which gave credit to Apollo's divine intervention. See Scholten 2000 for more on Aitolian propaganda in the third century following the defeat of the Gauls.

The fact that no such network of *theoroi* is evident for the earlier Amphictyonic *Sotēria* suggests that the *koinon* of *technitai* may have served this function by forming its own *theoria* network for the purpose of elevating the status of the new festival. This is supported by the fact that we know of multiple instances when the associations of *technitai* sent *theoroi* to announce or attend a particular festival. In the case of the *Mouseia* at Thespiai, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* explicitly resolved to send some of its members as *theoroi* to announce the festival to the rest of the Greeks (see below).<sup>206</sup>

The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*'s participation in a circuit of local festivals, along with the name-recognition of the Isthmian and Nemean games, would have meant that their endorsement of a new festival was the equivalent of declaring it of equal rank with existing contests. When they no longer performed an administrative role for the Aitolian festival, the task of declaring the festival “isonemean” or “isopythian” fell to the new *theoroi* who were sent on behalf of the Aitolians, effectively cutting out the *koinon* of *technitai* as collaborators in the festival's organization and promotion.

The Isthmian-Nemean association may not have been cut out of the picture completely, however. A single inscription from Delphi dated to the mid to late second century provides the beginning of a participants list for a “Winter *Sotēria*” ([χ]εῖμερινῶν Σωτηρίων, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 690, 3). Though the first four lines of the text are lacunose, Nachtergaele restores the name of the Isthian-Nemean association in lines 2-3 ([το κ]οιν[ον - - - - -

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<sup>206</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 457, 52-7. In addition, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* resolved to send *theoroi* to Magnesia for the festival of Artemis after having been invited to do so by the Magnesians (*I. Magnesia* 54) and the Ptolemaic *koinon* of *technitai* in Upper Egypt included five *proxenoi* who may have received delegates sent by other communities (*OGIS* 51).



τῶν τεχνιτῶν | τῶν ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Ν]εμέας). His restoration, which is maintained by Le Guen (2001 I, 174), is supported by the appearance of “[N]emea” in line 3 and by the fact that all of the participants whose names and *ethnika* are preserved come from Thebes or Boiotia, where the association was active. In line 4, the heading of the catalogue explicitly declares that the participants listed performed at the festival free of charge (τοὺς ἀγωνιζομέ[νους τῶι θε]ῶι δωρεᾶν τοῦ[σδε], 4). It is impossible to say whether the Winter *Sotēria* was a second-century revival of the third-century musical and dramatic competition organized by the Amphictyony or whether it existed as a smaller, possibly annual, festival alongside the Aitolian penteteric *Sotēria*. If the latter was the case, one could argue that the administrative role of the *technitai* (in this case the more local *koinon*) was better suited to ensuring participation from nearby cities for a more frequently-celebrated festival, whereas the space of three calendar years between celebrations of the penteteric *Sotēria* would have given the Aitolian *theoroi* sufficient time to announce the festival to more distant communities and to give potential participants from far away enough notice to organize their travel to Delphi.

#### **I.1.d. The *Agrionia* at Thebes**

The *Agrionia* at Thebes (formerly the *Dionysia* and *Kadmeia*) was a third-century festival that replaced the annual celebration of the *Dionysia*, and was named after the Boiotian

month *Agrionios*, when it was held.<sup>207</sup> It continued to be celebrated until the later Roman period, when the festival was combined with an existing festival to Herakles and renamed the *Dionysia-Herakleia*.<sup>208</sup> Its early reorganization is specifically attested by a single inscription recording three decrees (*F.D.* III.1.351 *add.* p. 402 [Ep. Cat. 2-3])<sup>209</sup> that was inscribed on the north *anta* wall of the Treasury of Thebes at Delphi during the Delphic archonship of Nikarchos (ca. 228 BCE).<sup>210</sup> The fragments of text that survive show that the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* of *technitai* was instrumental in elevating a local *trietēris* (triennial festival) to pan-hellenic status with the backing of the Delphic Amphictyony.<sup>211</sup> Robert 1977 conclusively identified the trieteric festival mentioned in the decrees as the *Agrionia*.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Hesychius, in an apparent misspelling, mentions the festival under the heading of “ἀγριάνια”. *Agrionios* was the fourth month of the Boiotian calendar, thus placing the festival sometime in late spring or early summer (see Rigsby 1997, 76).

<sup>208</sup> The major study of the festival and its early reorganization under the Amphictyony is Robert 1977. See Schachter 1981, 185-7 on the cult of Dionysos in Boiotia. See also Aravantinos 2010, 311-13 for a concise historical overview of the period, which saw the reorganization of multiple Boiotian festivals, including the *Mouseia* at Thespiiai (see below). On the imperial *Dionysia-Herakleia* (which later added an *Antonieia* celebration), see Robert 1977, 778-9.

<sup>209</sup> Lefevre 1995 divides the three decrees in her edition of the text: CID IV 70 (lines 11-29), 71 (lines 30-39), 72 (lines 1-10). cf. Le Guen 2001 I 134-5 (= *TE* 20b (lines 10-29) and 20c (30-39)).

<sup>210</sup> See Lefevre 1995, 196-7 on the date of Nikarchos’ archonship.

<sup>211</sup> On the Panhellenic status of the festivals of Dionysos and Herakles in Thebes in the early second century BCE, see Roesch 1975, 1-7; Robert *Bulletin Epigraphique* 1976, 301; and Schachter 1979, 39.

<sup>212</sup> The use of the vague term *trietēris* most likely reflected the language used by Thebes (and potentially the *koinon* of *technitai*) when making their request to the Amphictyony. *OGIS* 51 uses similar terms for the festivals organized by members of the *koinon* of *technitai* in Upper Egypt (their leader, Zopyros, is named ὁ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς τριετηρίδος καὶ ἁμφιετηρίδος, 27-8).

The first decree (lines 1-10) is the latest and most fragmentary of the texts<sup>213</sup> and grants a request of a Theban envoy to inscribe the two earlier decrees on the walls of the Theban treasury. The second decree (lines 11-29) records privileges that are granted by the Amphictyony to the city of Thebes and the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* for the benefit of the festival. If Bourguet’s original restoration of line 13 is correct, the resolutions of the Amphictyony are explicitly made to elevate the international prestige of the celebration, “in order that the festival and contests...be as fine as possible”, and not simply to meet the basic needs of the festival program with a minimum number of artists (ὅπως ἂν ἡ θυσία τῷ Διονύσῳ | [τῷ Καδμείῳ καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες οὓς σ[υντελεῖ ἡ πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τὸ κ]οινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν εἰς Ἴσθμὸν | [καὶ Νεμέαν συμπορευο]μένων γίνητ[αι ὡς κάλλιστα], 11-13). These resolutions include *asphaleia* and *asylia* everywhere for the artists for five days’ travel before and after the festival, as well as during the festival itself (17-20) and *asylia* for the sanctuary of Dionysos Kadmeios in Thebes “just like the (sanctuary) in Delphi” (καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς; 22). The decree then charges the *polis* of Thebes and the *technitai* with announcing the festival “to the *poleis*” (23-4) and assigns the financial administration of the festival to the priest of Dionysos and *epimeletai* “chosen by the *technitai*” (ἱερέα τοῦ | Διονύσου καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελ[ητὰς τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν εἰρημένους) along with the agonotheite from Thebes (24-5).

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<sup>213</sup> The text is lost where a Delphic archon would presumably be named in line 1. The reference to Πυθίοις in line 5 suggests that the measure was passed in a Pythian year, which narrows the possibilities to quadrennial years after the passage of the earlier decrees inscribed below, which date to the archonship of Nikarchos (228-5 BCE). Rigsby’s guess of 214 BCE (1997, 73) seems as reasonable as any other possibility.

The provision of *asylia* for *technitai* and their coworkers travelling to and from the festival for the duration of the celebration and for five days before and after would have allowed artists from a wide geographical range to arrive in Thebes. Based on the calculations of Stanford's ORBIS program, an individual or group travelling from Ephesos to Thebes by foot (30km/day) and by slow sea travel could arrive at Thebes in 4.2 days.<sup>214</sup> The logistics for such travel may have been simplified by the congregation of artists at one location, such as the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* in Teos who boasted of their participation in the "*Agrionia* at Thebes" in their honors to Kraton.<sup>215</sup> No catalogues of participants or victors survive to give any specific indication as to the origins of artists who performed at the festival.

The most important role for the artists beyond their performance in the contests was their active international promotion of the festival and the announcement of the cessation of hostilities (*ekecheiria*) "to the *poleis*" (23). This very general wording could suggest that the delegates were meant to travel widely throughout the Greek world to promote the new festival, as nothing in the text suggests a restriction to any particular *polis* or region. Rigsby tentatively suggests that the festival was only intended to be pan-Boiotian on the grounds that the decree only indicates *poleis* without kings, dynasts, or

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<sup>214</sup> Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved 09 Jun, 2015, from <http://orbis.stanford.edu>. The same conditions for travel, however, result in an estimated travel time of 6.5 days from Pella. Much of the documentation on which the ORBIS calculations are based are later in date than the third century BCE. Thus, any calculations for travel time should be taken as rough estimates when factoring for types of travel and the accessibility of different routes by land and sea. Even with these caveats, I think that the provision of five days' travel would have allowed for artists to come from well beyond central Greece, and very likely would have provided enough time for artists from Ionia and the Hellespont to attend the festival with *asphaleia* during their travel.

<sup>215</sup> *IG* XI 4, 1061, 20.

other traditional authorities who would receive petitions from *theoroi* (1997, 69).<sup>216</sup> I do not think this argument holds up to the allotment of five days' travel for artists to attend the festival, which would extend the range of travel well beyond Boiotia. Even if the omission of kings was intentional, though, a simpler explanation may be that the Thebans wished to avoid any royal patronage for their civic festival after a century of turbulence following their city's destruction and re-foundation in the wake of Alexander and his successors.<sup>217</sup>

The wording of this decree suggests that the festival was considered a shared responsibility, the product of a collaboration between the *polis* of Thebes and the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* of *technitai*. The fact that representatives from both the *polis* and the *koinon* share in the administration of the festival reflects a similar arrangement to that of the Amphictyonic *Sotēria*, where the presiding officials appear to be a priest chosen from the *technitai*, the Delphic archon, and the *hieromnemes* to the Amphictyonic council. However, the fact that the *technitai* (and *not* the Thebans) selected the *epimeletai* (25) suggests that the *koinon* retained primary control of the festival's finances and revenues.<sup>218</sup> The shared administration of the *Agrionia* is also indicated by the fact that the city and the *koinon* are both tasked with the announcement of the festival and truce to

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<sup>216</sup> In fairness, Rigsby admits that the absence of the Boiotian League from the administration of the festival argues against this suggestion (1997, 69).

<sup>217</sup> For an overview of Theban history in the third century BCE, see Polybius 20.4-5 and Aravantinos 2010, 307-17

<sup>218</sup> On *epimeletai* from the ranks of the *technitai*, see Le Guen 2001 II, 98-99.

other Greeks, a function traditionally carried out by *theoroi* sent by a single *polis* or sanctuary to other communities.

In his study of this inscription and of the *Agrionia* in general, Robert argued that the involvement of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* was crucial for Theban efforts to promote their festival as a sacred crowned contest throughout the Greek world. Because the decrees of *F.D.* III.1.351 refer to a *trietēris* (rather than to the *Agrionia* by name) he concluded that the city and *koinon* initially failed in their efforts to promote the local unnamed festival, which was renamed and promoted in a later successful venture (1977, 778). The fact that the Amphictyony does not refer to the festival by its proper name need not be so significant, however: it may instead simply reflect the language used in the petitions of Thebes and the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. There are several examples of decrees from the second century that refer to known festivals by a generic name sometimes indicating their periodicity (e.g., *pentetēris*, *amphietēris*, *panegyris*, *thysia*).<sup>219</sup>

The third decree (lines 30-39), which appears to have been an amendment to the second,<sup>220</sup> lays out strict penalties for artists who break their contractual obligation to perform at the festival. Any musician, chorus member, or actor failing to compete in accordance with Theban law is subject to the loss of *asphaleia* for himself and his attendants (34-8). This provision is put in place in response to an appeal by the Thebans and the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* to make the sanctuary *asylos* and the festival as fine as possible

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<sup>219</sup> See Jones 1974, 186-7 for other examples.

<sup>220</sup> Rigsby 1997, 69. See *OGIS* 51.

(31-4). The penalty appears to have considerable force: at the end of the text, which is broken off after line 39, there appears to be a provision in place to punish any city or individual who attempts to absolve the artist of the punishment ([αἱ κά] τις πόλις ἢ [ἀρχεῖον ἢ ιδιώτας τ]ὰν ζαμίαν ἀφέληται τὸν ἐξαμι[ωμ]ένον..., 39).

The penalties of the Amphictyony are severe and must have supplemented whatever fines may have been levied by Thebes for a failure to honor a contract to perform at the festival (this seems to be the basis for a reference to the law of Thebes in line 36). If one can learn anything from the example of Athenodoros, whose fine was paid to Athens by Alexander in the late fourth century, one might expect that such a fine would have been prohibitively high in order to discourage the possibility of an artist failing to perform at the festival without a valid excuse (Plut. *Alex.* 29). There also appears to have been a stipulation that an artist was only culpable if he failed to perform despite being healthy (ὕγιαίνων, 37). If an artist was unable to perform due to illness, he may have been given a chance to defend himself before the *agonothetēs* or an assembly from Thebes, the *koinon*, or both.<sup>221</sup> The penalties of the Amphictyony should consequently be understood as a measure to preserve the prestige of the festival by putting the offending artist's future prospects at stake. If punished, not only would the artist be liable to seizure wherever he went ('in war or in peace'), he would have no recourse to seek help from any other au-

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<sup>221</sup> Athenodoros appealed to Alexander to write to the Athenians in his defense after performing at the general's festival at Tyre instead of the City *Dionysia* as he was obligated to do (Plut. *Alex.* 29.2-3). In a slightly different arrangement, a decree from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to the city of Iasos (*I. Iasos* 152, 2nd c. BCE) stipulates a fine of 1000 Antiochean drachmas payable to the association for any artist who fails to honor a contract to perform at the city's festival for Dionysos, unless he is acquitted by an assembly of the *technitai*.

thority in removing the penalty, nullifying the advantages he might expect from any contacts made through other performances or travels.

We have hardly any evidence for the reception of the Theban *Agrionia* by the broader Greek world. At the very least, we do know that members of the Ionian-Hellaspontine *koinon* participated at the festival, as they boast in their honors to Kraton (*IG* XI 4, 1061). Their ability to do so seems to indicate a collaboration with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* similar to that which gave the Ionian artists the chance to perform at the *Sotēria* in Delphi. From the perspective of Thebes, then, it seems likely that the primary benefit of soliciting the help of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (beyond supplying its own performers) was in promoting the local festival to an international community so that it could be elevated in status.

#### **I.1.e. The *Mouseia* at Thespiai**

The *Mouseia*, a musical contest dedicated to the muses and celebrated in their sacred precinct at Mt. Helicon, was reorganized into a “crowned” and penteteric festival by the *polis* of Thespiai and the Boiotian *koinon* with the help of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*



of *technitai* in the last quarter of the third century BCE.<sup>222</sup> The evidence for this reorganization comes from a decree issued by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* that clearly articulates the organizational relationship between the civic magistrates of Thespiiai and the artists' association (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 457 [Ep. Cat. 4], ca. 225 BCE). The first line informs the reader that the “crowned thymelic competition” was celebrated for the very first time, signaling the importance of the decree to follow and the artists' relationship to the festival (ὁ θυμελικὸς ἄγων στεφανίτης πρῶτον ἐγένετο). Thereafter, we learn in a decree of the artists that a Thespian ambassador, Hierokles, approached the *technitai* with decrees and a letter from the *polis* of Thespiiai and the Boiotian League (7-11). Thespiiai had decided to elevate the *Mouseia* into a crowned festival for multiple categories, including *aulos* players, singers, *kithara* players, and epic poets (12-21), and needed the help of the *technitai*. Specifically, the ambassador's letter calls upon the *technitai* to join in the festival's promotion (21-30):

...καὶ ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς μετατεθῇ ἐν  
 ᾧ ὁ ἄγων γίνεται, καὶ συνπρεσ-  
 βεύσωσιν περὶ τούτων οὗ ἂν  
 25 παρακαλῇ ἡ πόλις ἢ τῶν Θεσ-

<sup>222</sup> The celebration of the *Mouseia* in the Valley of the Muses is noted by Pausanias, who also mentions a festival to Eros celebrated in the same location that was both musical and athletic (9.31.3). The exact date of this reorganization has been a subject of extended debate, which seems to have been generally resolved by Knoepfler 1996, who dates this change to ca. 230-220 BCE based on prosopographical data obtained from a military catalogue (*SEG* 37.385) and other inscriptions from Thespiiai. Roesch 1982, whose study was the basis of a general consensus prior to Knoepfler's study, proposed a date range of 215-208 BCE without some of the data available to Knoepfler. See, however, Schachter 2012, who distinguishes between when the *Mouseia* was recognized as a “crowned” trieteric festival with the help of the *technitai* (ca. 225-217 BCE) and when it was reorganized into a penteteric festival (204 BCE, with the help of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III). While the possibility is intriguing, I am not convinced that this distinction is necessary — there is no *comparandum* for a crowned festival that was not also penteteric, nor is there evidence that the financial donations of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III necessarily constituted a substantial reorganization of the festival. See Le Guen 2001 I, 144-5 for a useful summary of the other factors involved in the earlier debate.

πιέων, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσ-  
 [θ]εν χρόνοις, πράττωσι δὲ οἱ τε-  
 [χνῖ]ται καὶ ἐὰν ἄλλο [τ]ι χρήσιμον  
 [ῖ] ἔνδ'οξον [φαίνεται εἶν]αι ε-

— — —

And in order that the year in which the competition takes place may be changed, (the letter asks) that (the *technitai*) join in sending an embassy concerning these things wherever the *polis* of the Thespians invites them, just like in earlier times, and that the *te[chni]tai* also do anything that [would seem] useful or [hon]orable...

The second column of the text includes another decree by the *technitai*, which records three resolutions. First, they praise Thespiai and the Boiotian League for their munificence towards the sanctuary of the muses at Thespiai and the *koinon* of *technitai* (39-45). Second, they reassure that the artists, who understand the *Mouseia* to be the common property of Thespiai and their *koinon* (κοινὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, | εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Μουσῶν | τῇ τε πόλει Θεσπιέων καὶ αὐτοῖς, 47-50), will participate enthusiastically in the organization and promotion of the festival: participation in sacrifices, selecting a priest from their ranks to help organize the rites, and dispatching *theoroi* and ambassadors with decrees announcing the new crowned festival (50-8). Finally, a third resolution at the end of the surviving texts begins with the emphatic declaration that the *koinon* is the first to accept the new status of the festival (ἐμφανί|ζειν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅτι καὶ νῦν πρῶτοι | τὸν ἀγῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις στεφα|[νί]την ἀποδέχοντ[αι — — —], 58-61).

The artists' relationship with Thespiai in this decree is strikingly similar to their arrangement with Thebes for the organization of the *Agrionia*. The language throughout the decree both explicitly (κοινὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, 47) and implicitly

(συνπρεσβεύσωσιν, 23-4) indicates a shared responsibility for the competition as roughly equal partners, one that is long-standing between the city of Thespiai and the association of artists (καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσ|[θ]εν χρόνοις, 26-7; (Ἱεροκλῆς) ἐπέδειξε δὲ καὶ τὰ | ἐξ ἀρχῆς προγεγονότα φιλάνθρω|πα τῇ πόλει τῶν Θεσπιέων πρὸς | τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς τεχνί|τας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θεσ|πιέων, 33-8). Though the inscription is fragmentary, it nevertheless seems that the *technitai* are primarily concerned with the administration and promotion of the festival. Nowhere in the surviving portion of the text do they discuss the logistics of sending performers to the festival, though these details may have been discussed in the later missing portion of the inscription, and may have included separate arrangements with the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, who later boast of their participation at the *Mouseia*.<sup>223</sup>

The text frequently emphasizes the importance of the *technitai* to the organization and promotion of the festival. The declaration of the first line that this is the very first celebration of the *Mouseia* as a crowned festival advertises the artists' capability to bring a reorganized festival to the attention of a wide community of Greek *poleis*, as they promised to do in lines 56-7. The breadth and success of this promotion were essential, as the shift to a crowned festival could have posed a risk to the festival's ability to attract artists to compete without the promise of cash prizes. Thus, the established contacts between the association and the other city-states and sanctuaries where its artists regularly performed were a valuable asset to the Thespians, as much as (if not more than) the

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<sup>223</sup> IG XI 4 1061, 20

*koinon*'s ability to supply performers.<sup>224</sup> This is underscored by the fact that contact was first made by an ambassador sent from the Thespians and the Boiotian League to solicit the artists' help. This in itself is a powerful statement of the association's prestige and its importance in the process of elevating the festival, which is echoed when they emphasize that they are the *first* to accept the contest as crowned (59-61).

An additional benefit that is provided by the association is the flexibility they can afford in scheduling the contest (καὶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς μετατεθῇ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀγὼν γίνεται, 21-3). Assuming that the elevation of the festival to crowned status also signaled a change in its periodicity to penteteric, the clause is best explained as a provision allowing the artists to schedule the *Mouseia* for a calendar year when it would not conflict with other major festivals.<sup>225</sup> This also benefited the *koinon* of *technitai*, who were able to schedule the *Mouseia* at a time when it did not conflict with their standing obligations to other major festivals, including the *Sotēria* and *Agrionia*. Scheduling the *Mouseia* at a time close to any of the other major festivals on the mainland or in Ionia would have put the festival in contention with another established *agōn* and consequently put it at risk of

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<sup>224</sup> Though it is nowhere stated explicitly, I think it was most likely the case that the performers sent by the *koinon* offered their services for free, given that the festival no longer offered cash prizes. This may have been similar in effect to their arrangement with the Winter Soteria (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 690).

<sup>225</sup> See Rigsby 1987, 736-7 and Csapo and Slater 1995, 245. Schachter 2012, on the other hand, argues that this change does not signal a change in periodicity, but rather provides an opportunity for the festival organizers to send *theoroi* and embassies to promote the festival's new crowned status. This is based on his insistence that the term ἐνιαυτός only means "calendar year" in Boiotian contexts (35). I do not think these readings are mutually exclusive. The flexibility to change the "calendar year" of the festival seems to imply that the contest was at least trieteric. If it were annual, there would be no reason for the festival organizers to use the term ἐνιαυτός as Schachter understands it. Given that we know of no trieteric festivals that were crowned (see note above), I think it is just as likely that this clause at the very least implies (even if it does not explicitly state) that the festival's periodicity was changed to penteteric.

receiving less attention from artists and spectators alike.<sup>226</sup> Thus, by appealing to an association which kept its own schedule for the international circuit of festivals, the co-organizers would have been able to set a suitable date for the *Mouseia*.<sup>227</sup>

One can ascertain the success of the joint promotion of the *Mouseia* through some of the known responses from other communities and kings.<sup>228</sup> At the end of the third century, Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III gave a gift of 25,000 talents to the sanctuary after sending two letters announcing their official recognition of the games.<sup>229</sup> The Athenians, responding to a petition that was possibly made by the same Hierokles who was sent to the *koinon* of *technitai*,<sup>230</sup> recognized the *Mouseia* as “isopythian” and ensured that Atheni-

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<sup>226</sup> This problem became so acute by the imperial period that the emperor Hadrian needed to intervene by setting a strict order for some of the major festivals to allow the artists to meet all of their obligations (*SEG* 56.1339). See Jones 2007 for the text of the decrees with translation and comments.

<sup>227</sup> There is still insufficient evidence to determine the specific years in which the *Mouseia* was celebrated. See in general the commentary in Le Guen 2001 1: 146-62. For an overview of the calendars of the Boiotian *koinon* and its constituent *poleis* (as far as one can reconstruct them) see Roesch 1982, 33-87.

<sup>228</sup> The current dossier for the *Mouseia* can be found at *I.Thesp.* 152-85. See also Schachter 2012 Appendix IV for a chronology of the festival and its documents.

<sup>229</sup> *I.Thesp.* 152 and 153 (ca. 210 BCE). The donation of 25,000 drachmas is announced in *I.Thesp.* 62 (ca. 210 BCE), which first records the donation (2-5 before a decree of the *polis* of Thespiai (6-28) which resolves to use the funds to purchase land and rent it for an annual income of 1701 drachmas, which Schachter (2012, 39) and Slater (2010, 263) estimate to be sufficient for covering most of the costs for the penteteric contest (assuming a final tally of 6804 drachmas from four years of revenue) along with whatever money would have been donated by the *polis* and *agonothētēs*. For the texts, see Roesch 1965, 221; Bringmann et al. 1995, 136; and Schachter 2012 Appendix IV.1. Each text refers to the contest as the *penteteris*, and notes contests for tragedy, comedy, and auletes that must have been added in the period between the acceptance of the crowned contest by the *technitai* and the donation of money from the Ptolemaic court.

<sup>230</sup> *IG* VII 1735a, 14.

ans who won prizes at the festival would receive the same honors at home to which Pythian victors were already entitled.<sup>231</sup>

The collective evidence from the dossiers of the *Sotēria*, *Agrionia*, and *Mouseia* show that the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* served two principal functions that elevated the prestige of new and reformed festivals in the third century BCE. First, through the participation of its broad membership, with branches located throughout the central mainland, and by networking with the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, it ensured that the festivals would have participants from a broad geographical range. Second, at least in the case of the *Mouseia*, it offered the services of its own *theoroi* to help announce and promote the festivals throughout the Greek world.

By the middle of the second century, the *koinon* and its network of connections were forced to reckon with the expanding presence of Rome as the premier political power on the mainland. By the time of Corinth's destruction and the establishment of a Roman province in 146 BCE, Rome had come to replace the Delphic Amphictyony and the Aitolian *koinon* as the principal guarantor of security and privileges for the artists. This is

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<sup>231</sup> *IG VII 1735b* = Roesch 1982, following Feyel 1942, believes that the decree records a response from the *synodos* of *technitai* in Athens, rather than the *polis* itself, but I find it very difficult to believe that the association would have had any authority to set the rewards for victors that were issued by the *polis* to festival victors (such as free dining for life at the prytaneion for Olympic victors). This same opinion is expressed by Schachter 2012, 35; Aneziri 2007, 69 n.11 and 2003, 274-5; and Slater 2010, 273. It is interesting that, after the Athenians declare the thymelic *agōn* as a whole to be crowned *and* isopythian (2-5), they specify that their rewards will be isopythian for only three categories: epic poets, *aulos* players, and singers to the *aulos* (5-11). This seems to leave out the *kithara* players and singers to the *kithara* whose categories are part of the Thespians' and Boiotian League's appeal to the *technitai* (*I.Thesp.* 156, 20). The victors' lists that survive for the *Mouseia* include all five categories that were part of the original appeal (with other categories periodically added to the program) and which were accepted as part of the crowned thymelic *agōn* by the *technitai*. Thus, it seems to have been possible for cities that received a petition to recognize a reorganized festival to accept only certain categories of events as "crowned" or equal in status to other periodic festivals.

seen most vividly in a pair of letters sent from L. Mummius to the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina* (*IG* VII 2413-2414 [Ep. Cat. 5], 146 BCE), which ensured that the two associations could continue to offer their services without impediment.

## II. Mummius and the *technitai* (IG VII 2413-2414 [Ep. Cat. 5], 146 BCE): Rome enters the picture

The early second-century expansion of Roman power in the East through successive victories against the Macedonian kingdom and the Achaean League brought considerable upheaval and significant institutional changes to mainland Greece.<sup>232</sup> During the fifty turbulent years between Flamininus' declaration of freedom and autonomy for the Greeks at the Isthmian games of 196 BCE, and Mummius' destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE, the Greek city-states and federal leagues of the central and southern mainland were often internally divided and frequently shifted their allegiance between Rome, the Antigonid dynasty, and one another. Due to their unsuccessful opposition to the Romans, the once-powerful *koina* of the Aitolians,<sup>233</sup> Boiotians,<sup>234</sup> and Achaeans were all gradually dissolved or subjugated to Roman *imperium*.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> See Mackil 2013, 116-46 (esp. 128) for the effect of Roman expansion on the regional *koina* of Achaia, Aitolia, and Boiotia. Mackil 2014 largely echoes her findings on Boiotia, while Müller 2014 focuses on the effects seen in Boiotia after Mummius' destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE.

<sup>233</sup> The Aitolians, who had allied themselves with Antiochus III during the Syrian War, were forced to pay an indemnity of five hundred talents and to relinquish control of Kephallenia while accepting the same friends and enemies as the Romans in 189 BCE (Polyb. 21.32.2-14; Livy 38.9.9-11, 11.2-7), after which "[their] ability to conduct interstate relations on an independent basis was entirely hobbled" (Mackil 2013, 131).

<sup>234</sup> Shortly before the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War in the winter of 172/1 BCE, a Roman delegation led by Q. Marcus Philippus sought to dissolve the Boiotian *koinon*, which had allied itself with Perseus V against the Romans (Livy 42.12.5-6) by establishing political control at the level of individual *poleis* (Polybius 27.1-5; Livy 42.43-4, 46-7). As epigraphic evidence has shown, this resulted in the abolishment of federal deliberative and judicial bodies (including the synedrion) as well as federal magistracies (including the federal archon and the Boiotarchs), but did not extend to all of the religious and economic institutions of the *koinon*. See Mackil 2014 and esp. Müller 2014, who explains the later resurgence of the Boiotian *koinon* in the first century BCE as a result of the "strong memory of the previous framework...maintained at a religious level" that allowed the federal body to regenerate itself (122).

<sup>235</sup> Mackil 2013, 129-43.



We can measure the effect of this turbulence on the *technītai*, who were active in much of the territory affected by continuous warfare against Rome, in two inscriptions found on a single stone in Thebes, which consist of two letters from a Roman consul to the Ionian-Hellespontine and Isthmian-Nemean *koina* (*IG* VII 2413-2414 [Ep. Cat. 5], 146 BCE).<sup>236</sup>

A second-century date for the text is suggested by two details. First, the reference to a Roman-governed *eparcheia* in line 2 provides a *terminus post quem* of 146, when the province of Macedonia was formed after Mummius' victory against the Achaean League.<sup>237</sup> Second, the text very likely mentions the famous *aulos* player Kraton son of Zotichos in line 13, a prominent member of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* whose decorated career in the mid to late second century is well-attested in other documents from Pergamon and Teos (to be discussed in Chapter 4).

The identity of the text's author, whose name once appeared at the beginning of line 10, has been the subject of much discussion. Based on the title of στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος Πρωμαί[ων] in line 10, the possibilities are narrowed down to a consul or proconsul.<sup>238</sup>

The majority of scholars, following the tentative suggestions of early editors and the

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<sup>236</sup> I reproduce the texts of Le Guen 2001 I TE 34 (= *IG* VII 2413 = Aneziri B6) and TE 51 (= *IG* VII 2414 = Aneziri D15). The stone has been missing for some time. Kallet-Marx was unable to find it at the museum in Thebes in 1985 (1995, 349), and the last edition based on autopsy is Roesch 1982 (198-202). That the first letter (lines 1-9) was addressed to the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* can be deduced from the fact that the second letter addresses the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (lines 11-12) and that it refers to both Dionysos (3) and the profession of the artists (4).

<sup>237</sup> Kallet-Marx (1995, 350-1) notes that the term *eparcheia* in this line need not necessarily refer to a specific Roman *provincia* but may generally refer to "the area controlled by the Romans" [= *imperium populi Romani/Romanum*]. See also Bertrand 1982, 167-9. This understanding specifically counters Klaffenbach's restoration of [Μακεδονίαι] for the beginning of line 2.

<sup>238</sup> Sherk 1969, 250 n.1.

summary arguments of Roesch (1982, 199-202) contend that Lucius Mummius is the most likely candidate.<sup>239</sup> This seems to be supported by an as-yet unpublished document found in Argos known to Ch. Kritzas that further confirms the consul's involvement with the artists, though little more can be said until the text is published.<sup>240</sup>

Mummius' patronage of the arts and personal footprint in second-century festival life in Greece is well-attested outside of his interactions with the artists' associations.<sup>241</sup> His offer of protection, exemptions, and privileges for the associations in *IG VII 2413-14* reflects the fact that he demonstrated a particular interest in festivals and sanctuaries at which the artists' *koina* were active and with which they were associated. It is particularly noteworthy, for instance, that Mummius repaired the site of Isthmos (Polybius 39.6.1) and served as the agonotheite at the Isthmian games (Dio Chrys. 37.42), perhaps in an attempt to recall Flamininus' declaration of freedom and autonomy for the Greeks at the same event and location a half century earlier. His interest in Nemea is shown by an honorific dedication to him found at the site (*SEG* 25.541, 146 BCE) and by his settlement of

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<sup>239</sup> The lone notable dissent is Accame, who argues that the author is Marcus Livius Drusus, the governor of Macedonia who held an arbitration hearing between the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations over their financial disputes, as attested in the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.70, 61-4). He was unable to explain, however, why the same arbitrator would feel compelled to write an additional letter for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* when the conflict of the *senatus consultum* was clearly restricted to the two mainland associations (see Sherk 1969, 252).

<sup>240</sup> *Arch. Delt.* 28 (1973 [1977]) B 126; *SEG* 31.307. I have not seen the document, and Kallet-Marx (1995, 349) seems only to be aware of its existence. Le Guen (2001 I, 188 n.515) describes the text as consisting of more than 150 lines (!) inscribed on a block that was re-used in a 4th-5th c. CE wall.

<sup>241</sup> For a summary of sources, see Pietilä-Castrén 1991 and Yarrow 2006. See *SEG* 36.1024-34 (= *SEG* 27.722) (second century BCE), which records the victory of Biottokles son of Biottos in a race (*stadion*) named in honor of Mummius at Eretria. According to Tacitus *Ann* 14.21.1, Mummius introduced games in the Greek style to Rome with his triumph of 145 BCE. Vitruvius (5.5-8) further relates the story that Mummius brought large bronze vases used as audio amplifiers in the theater at Corinth to Rome, where they were dedicated to the Temple of Luna on the Aventine. It is possible that artists from the Greek mainland may have been brought to Rome as part of the entertainment for his lavish triumphal celebration.

a dispute between Argos and Kleonai concerning their contested authority over the Nemean games (*SEG* 23.180).<sup>242</sup> Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.4) and Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34.69) both attest that among his many spoils from Greece Mummius took statues of the Muses by Praxiteles from the sanctuary of the Muses at Thespiiai, where the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* co-organized the *Mouseia*.<sup>243</sup>

It is therefore likely that Mummius and the artists would have crossed paths during his time in Greece, and furthermore that the artists would have felt a need to secure their financial and political position as Mummius either despoiled or restored multiple sanctuaries where they performed. The fact that *IG* VII 2413-14 was found in Thebes is also significant: after Mummius' victory in 146 BCE the city's defensive walls were torn down and its inhabitants, like those of the other defeated cities, were disarmed.<sup>244</sup> This precarious situation would have placed in jeopardy the immunities and protections that were once assured for the artists by the Aitolians (and by extension the Delphic Amphictyony) in the third century.<sup>245</sup>

For the purposes of the larger argument in this chapter, two points must be made regarding the privileges that Mummius accords in the two letters. First, the fact that

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<sup>242</sup> The text refers to Mummius as a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος, 10), suggesting a date of 145 BCE during his proconsular year. An equestrian statue that was dedicated to him at Argos around this time (*SEG* 30.365) may be situated in the context of this dispute (Pietilä-Castrén 1991, 102). For discussion of the text, see Ager 1997 no.152 and Bradeen 1966, 326-9.

<sup>243</sup> See Rutledge 20123, 43-4 on the statues and their display in Rome.

<sup>244</sup> Müller 2014, 120.

<sup>245</sup> See esp. *FD.* III.3 218B (237/6 BCE), in which the *koinon* of the Aitolians grant the rights of *asphaleia* and *asylia* to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* that they had previously given to the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (Le Guen 2001 I, 200-2).

Mummius was compelled to write letters to both associations speaks to the degree to which the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine associations cooperated in organizing and promoting several mainland festivals, a relationship that was featured in the Ionian artists' honors for Kraton (*IG XI 4, 1061*), when they boast of their participation in the mainland festivals known to have been organized by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. Inasmuch as the associations' organization of, and performance in, multiple festivals depended on existing cooperation between the two regional *koina*, it was necessary for Mummius to delineate the rights and privileges of both *koina* at the same time. Second, the appeal to Mummius and to Roman authority for protection represents an important watershed for the history of the mainland *technitai*. In the immediate aftermath of the formation of the Macedonian province, Roman patronage would have important ramifications in the return of the Athenian *synodos* to Delphi during the late second century BCE.

### **III. The Athenian *synodos***

#### **III.1 Athens in the second century BCE and the Festival for Ariarathes V**

In contrast to the turbulence and destruction experienced by the rest of the mainland, Athens enjoyed a period of relative stability during the early second century BCE, ensured by the financial and military support of several foreign powers, including the Ptolemies, Attalids, and Romans.<sup>246</sup> As the Macedonian kingdom and the powerful leagues of the Aitolians, Boiotians, and Achaeans were defeated and subjugated by their Roman allies, Athens regained much of the political and cultural pre-eminence that it had lost since its defeat at Chaeroneia and later subjugation to Macedonian control in the third century. In 167/6 BCE, the Romans gave over to Athenian control the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and (most significantly) Delos.<sup>247</sup> According to Strabo (10.5.4), the destruction of Corinth in 146 resulted in Delos' rapid economic growth, with merchants attracted to the sanctuary's tax exemptions and the island's central location in the Cyclades and the Aegean.<sup>248</sup> The island's religious significance as the birthplace of Apollo and Leto continued to draw many lavish dedications from political elites throughout the Greco-Roman world as it had when the island was the center of the Nesiotic League under

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<sup>246</sup> See Habicht 1999, 220-79 for an overview, which draws from H's earlier work on Athenian relations with the Ptolemies (1992), Attalids (1990), and Seleukids (1989).

<sup>247</sup> Habicht 1999, 203. See also Polybius 30.20.3, who suggests that the Athenians had requested Delos and Lemnos from the Roman senate earlier than 167 BCE

<sup>248</sup> Habicht 1999 notes that the Athenians, circumventing this tax exemption, charged visiting ships with other fees for merchants' use of the island's harbor rather than issuing a tax on goods (258 n. 52).

the hegemony of the Antigonids and Ptolemies in the late fourth and third centuries BCE.<sup>249</sup>

It is during this period of Athens' political resurgence that we have the most evidence for the activity of the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai*. The earliest decree shows that, much like the city itself, the association benefited from elite foreign patronage: a fragmentary inscription from the middle of the second century includes honors for King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia and his consort Nysa decreed by the artists (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1330 [Ep. Cat. 6], 163-130 BCE).<sup>250</sup> The king, whom Polybios credits with a cultural boom in Cappadocia (31.19.7-9), had developed a close relationship with Athens, where he received his education. At one time, he served as agonothete for the *Panathenaia* and was awarded Athenian citizenship by the state in a separate decree.<sup>251</sup> He also maintained regular correspondence with his teacher Karneades, who was head of the Academy.<sup>252</sup> The Athenian artists, according to their decree, received the king's guarantee of *asylia* and *asphaleia*

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<sup>249</sup> See Habicht 1999, 251-4 for a summary.

<sup>250</sup> Lines 1-67 record the honors for Ariarathes, 68-85 for Nysa. The date of the text is difficult to pin down with absolute certainty. The *terminus ante quem* is the death of Ariarathes in the war against Aristonikos in 130 BCE (Habicht 1999, 282). Le Guen narrows the date to shortly before 130 BCE, though does not offer any explanation for doing so (2001 I, 72).

<sup>251</sup> On Ariarathes as agonothete see Habicht 1999, 239, 282 and 324. It is impossible to narrow this service down to one celebration, but the king's name was inscribed on the amphorae awarded to victors (cf. J. and L. Robert *BE* (1951) 79). For Ariarathes' honorary Athenian citizenship, see *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 666 (after 155 BCE), an honorific statue for Karneades dedicated by Ariarathes V and his brother-in-law Attalos II.

<sup>252</sup> Diog. Laert. 4.65.

(IG II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 59-60) presumably in order to visit his kingdom and possibly to perform at a festival in his honor.<sup>253</sup>

In return for the king's benefactions, the details of which are unknown to us but appear to have contributed to the growth of their *synodos*,<sup>254</sup> the Athenian artists promised several lavish honors: a statue and bronze portrait of the king, the one placed next to a cult statue of Dionysos, the other in the *propylaion* of the association's *temenos* (24-6);<sup>255</sup> sacrifices to be made for the protection of the royal family (30-2); the dedication and renaming of the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Metageitnion after the king and queen respectively (34-5); and the creation of an annual dramatic festival to be celebrated in the king's honor at Athens. The festival, one of the few known to have been organized exclusively by an association of *technitai*,<sup>256</sup> included competitions in music and drama, including "old" comedies and tragedies, and prizes were awarded by the *synodos* to victors (42-6). These honors are to be announced before the king at his court by a joint delegation consisting of ambassadors from the Athenian *polis* and the *synodos* of *technitai* (4-5, 50-67).

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<sup>253</sup> Habicht 1999, 282. We have no evidence outside of this inscription that attests to Athenian artists' activity in Cappadocia. A Delian inscription on a statue base for an Athenian athlete (*I.Delos* 1957) records (among other accomplishments) an award of a crown from Ariarathes for a victory in a contest sponsored by the king.

<sup>254</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 12-13: ...παρεκά[λεσαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἡ σύ]νοδ[ος τῶν τεχνιτῶν α]ῦξήσεται...

<sup>255</sup> See Aneziri 2000 for the location of the Athenian *synodos*' headquarters and *temenos*, which Pausanias (1.2.4-5) identifies as the confiscated house of a certain Poulytion near the Kerameikos.

<sup>256</sup> See Aneziri 2007, 67-8. The only comparable example that we know of is the celebration of the *panegyreis* in Teos, which was organized by an agonothete elected from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (*I. Magnesia* 54, 32-3 and IG XI 4, 1061, 7-10 and 26-7).

The exclusive euergetic relationship between Ariarathes and the Athenian artists marks an important departure from the more open collaboration seen between the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Helespontine *koina* at festivals which they co-organized. Instead, it resembles the close and explicit ties between the Ptolemaic dynasty and its own associations of *technitai* through the promotion of the Lagid dynasty's ruler cult in the celebration of the *Ptolemaieia* and in giving honors to benefactors of the royal house (Chapter 3). The subtle but important difference between the Athenian and Ptolemaic associations, however, is that the former promoted Athenian political power by advancing a myth of Athenian cultural and religious autochthony, which was partly expressed by the exclusively Athenian membership in the *synodos*.<sup>257</sup> As we shall see, this 'metropolitan' brand of musical and dramatic culture contrasts with the 'cosmopolitan' character of the Ptolemaic association and its participation in the bricolage of Alexandrian performance culture.<sup>258</sup> This is most expressly seen in the celebrations of the *Pythaid* and the honors received from Delphi and the Amphietyony, which based their gestures of support on the premise of Athenian cultural preeminence.

### III.2: The *Pythaid* and Athenian cultural hegemony at Delphi

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<sup>257</sup> This did not necessarily mean that all members of the Athenian *synodos* were born in Athens. In fact, we know of quite a few instances in which foreign artists were given honorary Athenian citizenship, particularly in the third century (see, e.g., *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 856, 295/4 BCE and discussion in Osborne 1981, D69). Citizenship does seem to have been a requirement for membership in the *synodos*, though.

<sup>258</sup> I adapt the term "metropolitan" from the Amphietyony's honors for the Athenian *synodos*, in which it proclaims Athens the *metropolis* of theater and the founder of the first association of *technitai*. See below.



The Aitolian *koinon*'s defeat and subjugation to the Romans in 188 BCE resulted in its loss of control over the Amphictyonic Council and, by extension, the sanctuary of Delphi.<sup>259</sup> In its absence, the council's membership was reformed through a joint effort of the Athenians and the newly-reformed Thessalian League<sup>260</sup> with the final approval of the Roman Senate in 184 BCE.<sup>261</sup> This shift in control of the sanctuary was of considerable importance to the sanctuary's festivals, including the pan-hellenic Pythian games and the *Sotēria*, which in this period appears to have added a Winter celebration that relied on the donation of performances by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (see above p. 103). As Habicht notes, "These events marked the beginning of a process in which Athens' ties to the Delphic shrine grew stronger and stronger, also increasing the city's international prestige." (1999, 211-12).<sup>262</sup>

The *Pythaid* (not to be confused with the penteteric and inclusive Pythian games) was an exclusively Athenian festival that celebrated the city's mythical and religious ties to Delphi and the cult of Apollo Pythios. It was an unusual event in that it was celebrated irregularly: a group of priests (*Pythaistai*) would look for lightning to appear over Harma, a ridge of Mt. Parnes, for three successive days and nights during three consecutive months.<sup>263</sup> When it appeared, the divine sign prompted a grand *theoria* led by as many as

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<sup>259</sup> Habicht 1995.

<sup>260</sup> Livy 34.51.4-6. See also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 674, 50-4, which mentions the reorganization of the league with its ten *stratēgoi*.

<sup>261</sup> See Habicht 1987 for a summary and discussion of the largely epigraphical evidence.

<sup>262</sup> See also Habicht 1999, 275-9 for a summary of Athenian activity in Delphi during this period.

<sup>263</sup> Strabo 9.2.11.

nine Athenian archons and hundreds of other sacred officials and participants in the festivities that took place in Delphi, including the city's ephebes, knights, and representatives from the Marathonian *tetrapolis*.<sup>264</sup> Their procession to Delphi ended with a hecatomb and a dedication of first-fruits (*aparcheiai*) to Apollo, typically in the spring.<sup>265</sup>

In the Classical period, during the heyday of Athenian military and political prowess, the festival seems to have served as an important claim of the city's preeminence at the international sanctuary, though relatively little is known about the festival or its program beyond the scant details preserved in later authors.<sup>266</sup> There is no evidence that the *Pythaid* was celebrated in the third century, which most likely reflects the strict controls placed on Athenian expenditure for festivals by Demetrios of Phaleron and the Aitolian control of the Amphictyonic council.<sup>267</sup> In the late second century, after the Romans had effectively removed both of these obstacles en route to establishing their political control of the Greek mainland, the *Pythaid* reappears in the dossier of inscriptions

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<sup>264</sup> The lists of ephebes, knights, *technitai*, *theoroi*, and all other participants in the second-century Pythaid preserved in the epigraphical record include roughly seven-hundred names, which typically include patronyms but rarely include demotics (see Fisher 1986 for a more detailed overview).

<sup>265</sup> The celebrations of the *Pythaid* took place in the month of Thargelion (Sifakis 1967, 86). The route of the procession seems to have followed Apollo's mythical journey from Athens to the sanctuary as preserved in Athenian tradition, which would have led the *theoria* through Oinoë on Kithairon and Thebes — one wonders if the Thebans were fed up with the obnoxious cultural pretensions of their neighbors as they continued to rebuild their city yet again. See Mikalson 1998, 270-2 for a brief overview of the festival and its renewal in the second century.

<sup>266</sup> On Athens and its general relationship with the sanctuary in the Classical period, see Bowden 2005. For a summary of sources on the Classical celebrations of the festival, see Boëthius 1918, 145-6. The orators and statesmen Lykourgos and Demades are named as part of the *theoria* sent in 326 BCE (*FD*. III.1. 511). According to several *testimonia*, the festival was celebrated so irregularly even in this earlier period that the phrase ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράπη was used to indicate an event's rare occurrence (Sifakis 1967, 86 n.2; Plut. *Mor.* 679 C; Suda s.v. ἄρμα; Hesych. s.v. ἀστραπή δι' Ἄρματος).

<sup>267</sup> Sifakis 1967, 87.

published and displayed across the south wall of the Athenian treasury. It is from this impressive collection of documents that we know of four celebrations of the *Pythaid* in great detail: in 138/7, 128/7, 106/5, and 98/7 BCE.<sup>268</sup>

### **III.2.a: The Athenian Treasury and the Athenian *technitai***

Before discussing the individual celebrations of the *Pythaid*, it is important to note the importance of the south wall of the Athenian Treasury as a location for the inscriptions celebrating Athens and its *synodos* of Athenian artists for their participation in the *Pythaid*s. The location of their publication has received relatively little comment from any of the texts' previous editors, who only note that the building's south wall occupies a prominent visual place along a bend in the so-called Sacred Way. Visitors to the Temple of Apollo or the theater for a festival performance would have made their way past the great monument, which was built to house the spoils taken from the defeated Persians at the Battle of Marathon.

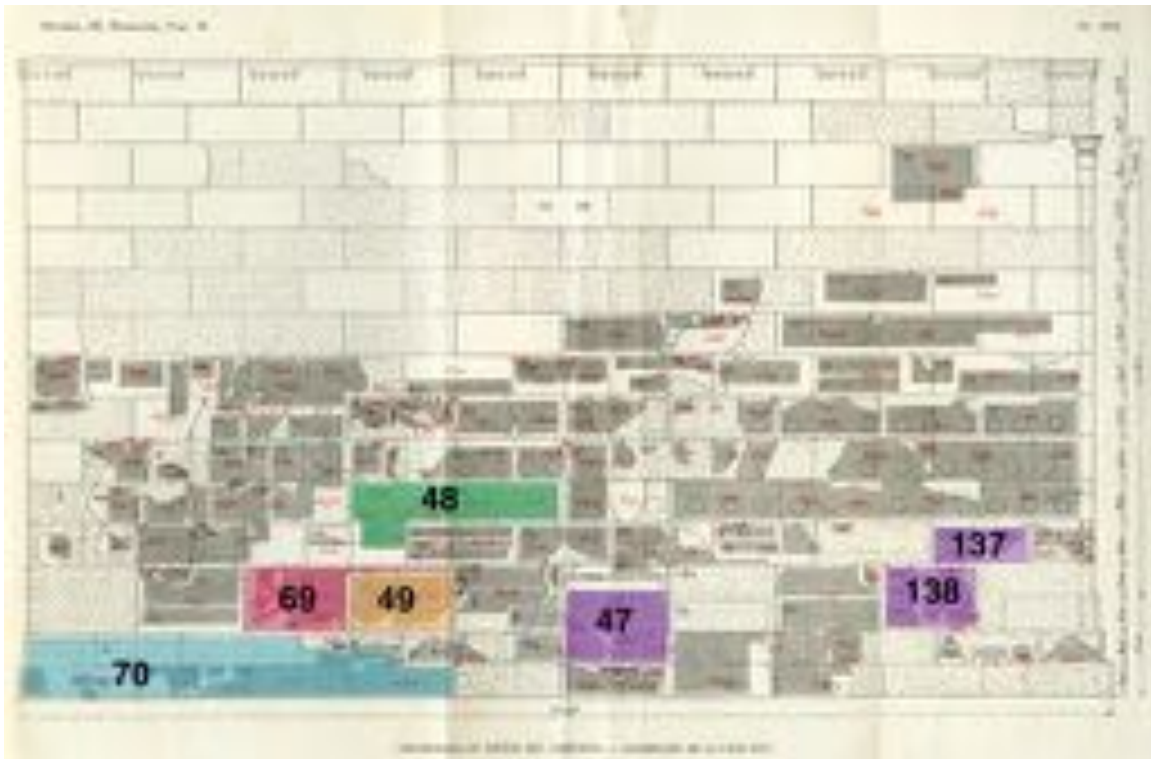
We can accept that the locations of the inscriptions on the south wall (FIGURE 2) are for the most part certain for two reasons.<sup>269</sup> First, the texts typically run across multiple courses of stone (as with *F.D.* III.2.70 [Ep. Cat. 12], 112/1 BCE) on the southwest

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<sup>268</sup> See the full dossier for the celebrations in Colin's edition of *F.D.* III.2-54. Boëthius 1918 remains the only book-length study of the festival. Tracy (1975 and 1982) contributed some brief but important epigraphical and historical notes based on his studies of individual inscriptions at the sanctuary.

<sup>269</sup> The notable exceptions to this are the two fragmentary *paian*s composed by Athenaios (*F.D.* III.2.137) and Limenios (*F.D.* III.2.138), whose location on the east side of the south wall reflects the current tentative *communis opinio*, though this is open to debate given the size and condition of the fragments (see Bélis *CID* III, p. 53-4).

corner), which allowed excavators and epigraphists to connect the stones horizontally and vertically. Second, because the walls of the treasury taper inward as they go higher, excavators were also able to determine the specific courses of stones that had both inner and outer faces preserved, allowing them to reconstruct the exact location of specific blocks and texts.



**Figure 2: Reconstruction of the South Wall of the Athenian Treasury (*F.D.* III.2 pl. XVI). Inscriptions discussed are indicated by their number in *Fouilles de Delphes* volume III.2.**

The earliest and most famous reconstruction of the South facade was created by Tournet in 1904 for the initial publication of the treasury's architecture in the second volume of the *Fouilles de Delphes* (FIGURE 3). His architectural study presents the monuments and decorations known to have stood around the treasury during its long history in

evocative and beautiful detail, but it is nevertheless historically misleading. The spoils of Marathon that are arranged neatly in front of the later inscriptions on the south wall were in all likelihood plundered by the time the Athenians began inscribing the treasury walls in the late third century. During the interval between Marathon and the late third century BCE, the sanctuary had been sacked on at least two occasions that we know of. In the first instance, immediately before the Third Sacred War, the Phocians occupied the sanctuary and, in the process, melted many of its bronze dedications in order to pay the mercenaries who were in their service.<sup>270</sup>



**Figure 3: Reconstruction of the South Wall of the Athenian Treasury by A. Tournet (F.D. II (1) pl. XII)**

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<sup>270</sup> On the extent of the Phocian sack (*hierosylia*) of Delphi, see Davies 2007 and Miles 2008, 37-9. Miles estimates that this single act of plundering brought roughly ten thousand talents of precious metal into wide circulation. (2008, 38). One of the objects reported in ancient sources to have been melted was a gold tripod dedicated by the Greeks who defeated the Persians at Plataia (Paus. 10.13.9), which likely accompanied the famous bronze serpent column now located in Istanbul (Miles 2008, 39).

In the second instance, contrary to the popular account that the Gauls were miraculously turned away from the sanctuary (either by a brave defense mustered by the Aitolians or by Apollo's divine intervention, depending on whom one asked), a later tradition suggests that the Gauls may have in fact managed to breach the sanctuary and make off with some of its treasures.<sup>271</sup> In either case, one can imagine that the famous and visually prominent bronze weaponry of the Persian spoils would have been highly prized and vulnerable to being plundered and melted down for coinage.

Despite overlooking these historical vicissitudes, by presenting a synchronic image, Tournet's reconstruction retains considerable heuristic value, as it reminds the viewer of the immense political importance of this space, which served as a continual reminder to all visitors of the sanctuary of the accomplishments of the Athenians against the great Persian enemy.<sup>272</sup> This historical significance would have been maintained well into the second century by the decorative features that survived the plundering of the Phocians and/or Gauls. The Marathon base inscription,<sup>273</sup> which explicitly states the original use of the space along the south side of the building, and the visual program of the treasury's frieze, which analogized Athens' victory with the heroic exploits of Theseus and Herakles, were found roughly *in situ* by French excavators, which indicates that they would

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<sup>271</sup> See Miles 2008, 40-42 for discussion of this tradition as it relates to the Aitolians.

<sup>272</sup> On the political display and institutional memory of the city's politics in the early fifth century as preserved in the iconographic and architectural features of the treasury, see Neer 2004.

<sup>273</sup> *F.D.* III.2.1 (490 BCE): Ἀθηναῖοι τ[ὸ]ν Ἀπόλλων[ι] ἀπὸ Μέρδ[ον] ἀκ[ροθ]ίνα τες Μαραθ[ὸ]νι μ[άχεσ].  
("The Athenians (dedicate) to Apollo the first fruits of the B[att]le of Marath[o]n (taken) [from the Me]de")

have remained visible to second-century visitors.<sup>274</sup> In addition, the brilliant and distinctive white marble from Paros used for the building's construction would have recalled the city's imperial past as *hegemon* of the Delian League after the Persian wars.

The epigraphic dossier of the *Pythaid* should therefore be read with this monumentalization of Athenian pre-eminence in mind. In effect, the inscriptions' placement in such a highly symbolic civic space indicated that the Athenian artists, who were honored along with other prominent contingents of the festival's *theoriai*, were emblematic of the city's renewed greatness on display to the international sanctuary, and by implication to the other Greeks. Rather than through military exploits, however, the inscriptions suggest that Athens had regained its preeminence through culture and Roman patronage. It is in this context that the honors and accomplishments of the Athenian *synodos* (highlighted in FIGURE 2) are given special significance in the cultural and political resurgence of Athens in the second century.

### **III.2.b: The *Pythaid* of Timarchos (138/7 BCE) and the Amphictyony's Renewal of Honors for the Athenian *synodos* (F.D. III.2.68, 130 BCE)**

The earliest of the second-century *Pythaid*s is dated by the Athenian archon Timarchos, who is listed in an inscription along with fourteen Athenian *theoroi*, including three from the Marathonian *tetrapolis* (F.D. III.2.7). Based on the other inscriptions dated to this year, this celebration was the most modest of the four in its scale. The procession includ-

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<sup>274</sup> This is further underscored by the fact that the Marathon base was re-inscribed in the third century (Neer 2004, 66 and n. 10), which shows that this cultural memory was not just preserved but actively maintained by the Athenians.

ed fifty-seven ephebes (*F.D.* III.2.23),<sup>275</sup> eleven *kanephoroi* (*F.D.* III.2.29), and a chorus of thirty-nine children (*pythaistai paides*, *F.D.* III.2.11, 3-4) led by two *didaskaloi* (21-2) who are attested as members of the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* in later sources.<sup>276</sup>

In 130 BCE, a few years before the second celebration of the *Pythaid*s, the Delphic Amphictyony renewed honors for the Athenian *synodos* that were formerly granted in the early third century BCE (*F.D.* III.2.68).<sup>277</sup> The texts of both the third-century decree (lines 61-94, see *Ep. Cat.* 1) and the Amphictyony's later renewal (lines 1-61) were inscribed together at the top of the south *anta* wall of the Treasury, on its eastern, front face (See FIGURE 4).<sup>278</sup> Its position is not only prominent but has a particularly special significance, as it is placed at the same height as the guarantees of *asylia* for the Ionian city of Teos by Delphi, the Amphictyony, and the Aitolians, which were inscribed at the top of the north *anta* wall in 202 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.134). Teos, as I will discuss in the final chap-

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<sup>275</sup> Although this inscription does not provide the name of the archon in charge of the festival, Colin identifies this list with the *Pythaid* of 138/7 BCE based on the similarity of the lettering to the other inscriptions from 138/7 and the fact that the other celebrations have securely identified ephebe lists for their particular year (see Colin's discussion s.v. *F.D.* III.2.23).

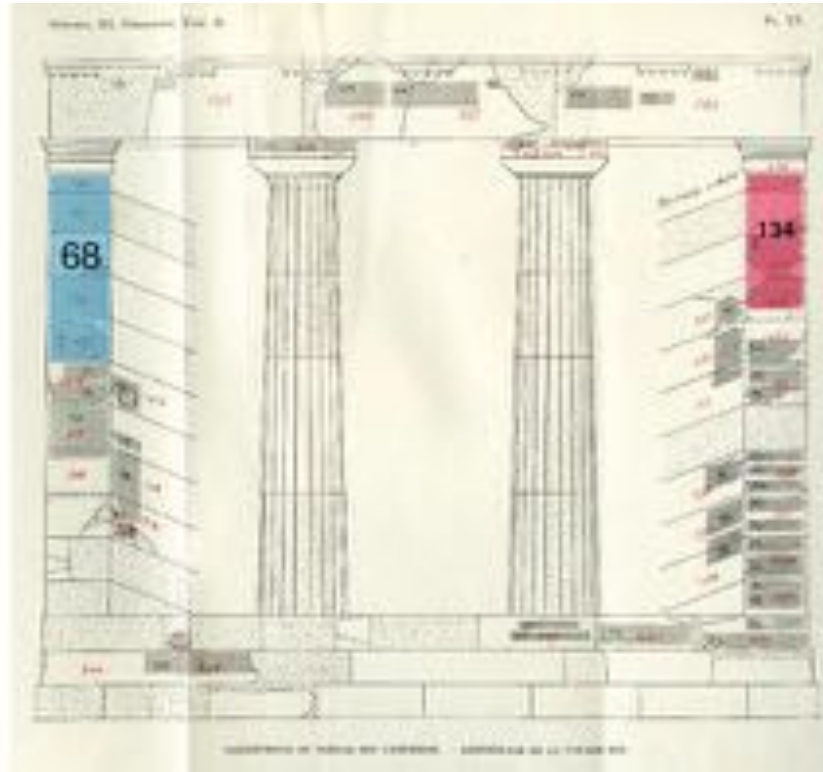
<sup>276</sup> Elpinikos son of Epikrates (Stephanis 1988 no.835) and Kleon son of Eumelos (Stephanis 1988 no. 1461). Elpinikos would later serve as an ambassador on behalf of the *synodos* to the Delphic Amphictyony when the association received a renewal of their honors in 130 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.68, 32; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1132, 46 and 72). Both men participated as *paian* singers and *didaskaloi* in the second *Pythaid* of 128/7 BCE (*F.D.* III. 2.47, 15 and 28 for Elpinikos; 14 and 28 for Kleon).

<sup>277</sup> The date of the decree was for some time a matter of debate. The honors were issued in a Pythian year (*F.D.* III.2.3: μηνὸς Βουκατίου, Πυθίοις), and the Delphic archon Aristion restricts the options to 134 or 130 BCE. Daux (1943, 58) and Bélis (1999, 140) tentatively preferred the earlier date, though Follet 1998 argues convincingly for a date of 130 BCE based on more substantial information for second-century chronology at Delphi and Athens (cf. Follet 1989). See Le Guen 2001 I, 77 for a summary of scholarship on the date of the decree.

<sup>278</sup> A more complete Athenian copy of the decrees that were kept in the *metroon* was found in Athens on the south slope of the Acropolis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1132). The Athenian inscription, which presents the decrees in chronological order (whereas the Delphic copies on the Athenian treasury present them in reverse chronological order) allowed Colin to restore much of the missing text in *F.D.* III.2.68. No third-century copy of the earlier decree has been found. See Sickinger 1999, 132-7 for an overview of the decree's Athenian copy.



ter, was the home of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai*, who were instrumental in the city's bid to obtain *asylia* from various kings, city-states and sanctuaries based on its mythical connections to Dionysos.<sup>279</sup>



**Figure 4: Reconstruction of the East Facade of the Athenian Treasury (F.D. III.2 pl. XV). Inscriptions are indicated by their number in Fouilles de Delphes volume III.2.**

Thus, some seventy years after the Teians (perhaps with the help of the Athenian artists) obtained protection from the Amphictyony, the Athenian artists boasted their own status on equal terms with their Ionian-Hellespontine colleagues by virtue of their choice in placing their honors on the opposite wall at the same height.

<sup>279</sup> The connection between the two decrees is particularly underscored by the fact that the decrees of F.D. III.2.134 all grant *asylia* to Teos on the same terms that they had previously extended to the *technitai* (see discussion in Chapter 4).

The honors that the Amphictyony grant to the Athenian artists include standard-issue guarantees of *asylia*, *ateleia*, and *asphaleia*, all of which were extended to the *synodos* in part because they were deemed sacred (ἱεροί) and unmeddlesome (ἀπολυπραγμονήτοι)<sup>280</sup> (17-18, 27-8). This rare term is not used to describe the merits of any other association of *technitai*.<sup>281</sup> Lech argues that it was meant to refute charges of meddlesomeness that could be levied against a resurgent Athenian *polis* at a time when Athens had emerged from the rule of Demetrios Poliorketes and sought to re-establish itself as an international power.<sup>282</sup>

Though Lech never explores the possibility, this consideration may be extended to the second century as well, when Athens had parlayed its favorable position with Rome to regain some of its former territory, including Delos, which it had not controlled politically since its hegemony in the Delian League in the fifth century. By this time, in 138 or 134 BCE, the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations had been issued their first *senatus consultum*, which ordered them to cooperate with one another at festivals in

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<sup>280</sup> Lech 2013, 73-76, who argues convincingly that the word should be understood in its active sense. Csapo and Slater translate it as “apolitical” (1995, 244). Other commentators, including Le Guen (2001 I, 61) and Aneziri (2003, 249), understand the term in a more passive sense, “not to be meddled with” or “left in peace” (cf. LSJ s.v. ἀπολυπραγμότητος).

<sup>281</sup> A *TLG* search finds only forty-three instances of the word in Greek literature (mostly imperial and late antique) as an adjective and eighteen instances as an adverb (ἀπολυπραγμονήτως).

<sup>282</sup> “If πολυπραγμοσύνη was still in the third century (as it had been for two centuries already) ideologically connected with Athens and its politics, other states could use this against her, and the recent recovery of the *polis* and her participation in the Amphictyony could have been seen by other states as a potential threat... Although Athens was not strong enough to defend herself without the help of Ptolemaeus II and later his son, the Athenians were in interstate relations always πολυπράγμονες, and thus liable of the accusation of meddlesomeness. Therefore, it would have been important for the Athenian artists, not to mention the Athenian state, to show that even though the association was consistently backed up by its state, the artists were explicitly apolitical, viz. they were not sent by Athens to meddle in others’ business, but to mediate between the religious sphere of Athens and the outside world, and thus the Athenian artists were individually ‘sacred’.” (Lech 2013, 78-9).

Thebes and Argos (*F.D.* III.2.70, 21).<sup>283</sup> Though we have no direct evidence of their legal disputes outside of the inscriptions at Delphi, it is clear that by the time the Athenian *synodos* obtained a renewal of honors in 130, they had already been in conflict with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* over participation in local festivals on the periphery of Attica. In supplement to Lech's reading of the third-century context, I suggest that this dispute lay behind the artists' claim of being "unmeddlesome".<sup>284</sup>

### III.2.c: The *Pythaid* of Dionysios (128/7 BCE)

The inscriptions detailing the celebration of the *Pythaid* of Dionysios in 128/7 BCE suggest a much more ambitious affair than the previous celebration from a decade earlier. The participants in the procession whose names were inscribed on the south wall include nine archons (*F.D.* III.2.3), fourteen *theoroi* (*F.D.* III.2.8),<sup>285</sup> forty-eight *pythaistai paides* (*F.D.* III.2.12), over sixty ephebes (*F.D.* III.2.24), and around sixty *hippeis* (*F.D.* III.2.27). In addition, the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* had a more prominent and explicit role in the organization of the festival and procession, as indicated by a lengthy honorific decree

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<sup>283</sup> The dates for this *senatus consultum* are restricted to a consulship of a Publius Cornelius, who arbitrated the hearing according to *F.D.* III.2.70, 21. The two possibilities are P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (consul in 138 BCE) or P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemelianus (consul in 134 BCE). A third Publius Cornelius Lengulus, "son of Publius", was honored by the Isthmian-Nemean association with a statue base found in the theater precinct of Delphi (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 704 B) and was also given proxeny by Delphi in 128/7 BCE (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 704 C). He was not a consul, however, and Kallett-Marx has shown that τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου τὸ ἐπὶ Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου (*F.D.* III.2.70, 21) must refer to "the senatorial decree *presided over* by P. Cornelius" (1995, 150 n. 95, emphasis mine), thus narrowing the dating possibilities to 138 or 134 BCE.

<sup>284</sup> Though it is the Amphictyony's decree that calls the Athenian *synodos* "unmeddlesome", I interpret this to mean that the Athenians had included the label in their petition for the renewal of honors during their conflict with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*.

<sup>285</sup> These include eleven chosen by the Athenian *demos*, three from the Marathonian *tetrapolis*, and one from the *Pyrrakidai*, one of the aristocratic families in Athens.

from the *polis* of Delphi honoring their participation (*F.D.* III.2.47 [Ep. Cat. 7], 128/7 BCE):

[ἐπε]ἰδὴ ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις τε[χνι]τῶν, τιμῶσα μὲν καὶ σεβομένα τὸν θεῖον δ[ιὰ]  
[π]αντός, αὖξιν δὲ προαιρειμένα τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ πάτρια τῶν θεῶν, καὶ, ἄρχομένα  
ἀπ[ὸ]  
[τ]ούτων, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα διαπέπρακται τῶν ποτὶ δόξαν ἀνηκόντων κα[ὶ]  
[μ]νάμαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ νῦν δέ, ψα[φί]ξαμένου τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί[ων]  
5 πέμπειν τὴν Πυθαΐδα ποθ' ἅμ' ἐτῶν πλειόνων τοῖς τε χρησιμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἱστορίαις  
[ἅ]-  
κολούθως, συνεπέδωκε αὐτοσσεύσαν [ἡ] σύν[ο]δος...

Whereas the *synodos* of *technitai* in Athens, having honored and worshipping the god constantly and choosing to increase the customary and ancestral rites of the gods, and, beginning from these things, has accomplished the greatest and finest of things that befit esteem and memory for all time; and now, with the people of Athens having voted to send the *Pythaid* to us after an interval of too many years, in accordance with both the oracles and traditions,<sup>286</sup> the *synodos* has also dedicated itself as an offering...

The inscription goes on to name the fifty-eight artists of the *synodos* who took part, arranged by office and/or specialty: five *theoroi* (6-8), thirty-nine chorus-members and a *didaskalos* who sang a *paian* to Apollo (9-20), and a group of musicians and actors providing entertainment over multiple days at the sanctuary (21-30). The honors given to the *synodos* by Delphi include a laurel crown (32-3), *promanteia* (34), *asylia* granted to their ancestors (ἄσυλίαν τὰν ὑπαρχουσάν αὐτοῖς διὰ προγόνων[v...], 34-5) and all other honors owed to benefactors of the city (35-6).

The performances and rites offered by the *technitai* were provided at their own expense as a dedication to Apollo (hence συνεπέδωκε in line 6).<sup>287</sup> What is particularly

<sup>286</sup> On the sense of *historiai* as “traditions” in this context, see Rutherford 2004, 77 n. 52.

<sup>287</sup> This is also explicitly stated in lines 34-5: ...ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδεδαμηκότας καὶ λελειτουρηκότας τῶν τεχνιτῶ[v...]

striking about the opening of the decree is the repeated insistence on the ancestral character of the festival: The *technitai* are credited with increasing τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ πάτρια (2) and the *polis* of Athens, in sending a *Pythaid*, abides by ταῖς ἱστορίαις (5). This calls attention to the longer arc of Athenian cultural and religious history that the city and its artists tried to evoke. As mentioned above, the *Pythaid* had not been celebrated prior to 138/7 BCE for multiple generations. Reclaiming the sanctuary, the political display of the south wall, and the ancestral rights of the artists were all part of an effort to spark a show of Athens' cultural and political renaissance under Roman patronage.

In addition to the lists of participants and honors granted by Delphi, the epigraphic dossier of this *Pythaid* famously includes two paians to Apollo with musical notation inscribed by the same hand on the eastern end of the south wall. One, a hymn composed by a certain Athenaios (*F.D.* III.2.137 [Ep. Cat. 8], 128/7 BCE), featured vocal notation, suggesting that it was intended to be sung by the *technitai*, who were introduced as τοὺς αἰσομένους τὸν Παιᾶνα in *F.D.* III.2. 47, line 9. The second hymn, composed by Lime-nios and inscribed above the composition of Athenaios (*F.D.* III.2.138 [Ep. Cat. 9], 128/7 BCE), has instrumental notation for accompaniment by the *kithara*.<sup>288</sup> It was possibly sung as a solo piece: the victory lists of the *Mouseia* record awards for individual *proso-dia* singers.

Both hymns are very similar in their subject matter and in the overall structure of their content. Each begins with an invocation of the Helikonian Muses before describing

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<sup>288</sup> See the discussion of the notation in Pöhlmann and West 2001, 74-84.

a vision of Apollo, a summary of the god's major exploits (his slaying of Python, the foundation of the sanctuary and oracle, and his miraculous repulse of the Gauls from the sanctuary), and concluding with prayers, which in the hymn of Limenios are made for fortune and security of the *technitai*, Athens, and Rome. The fact that both hymns are inscribed by the same hand and that their composers appear in the list of *technitai* honored by Delphi in 128/7 confirms that both were performed in the same year.<sup>289</sup>

An Athenocentric character is easily detectable in both hymns. After an initial strophe invoking the Muses and calling attention to the performance setting in the sanctuary, the hymn of Athenaios invokes the *megapolis* of Athens at the beginning of the second strophe ([<sup>τ</sup>Hv] κλυτὰ μεγαλόπολις Ἀθθῖς εὐχαῖε[ισ|σ]ι φερόπλοιο ναίουσα Τριτωνίδος δά[πε]|δον ἄθραυστον, “[Behold] the famous Attic megalopolis occupying unbreakable ground by the prayers of the arms-bearing Tritonis (Athena)”, 9-11), setting the scene for sacrifice and celebration that will, in turn, invoke the image of the *synodos* of *technitai* as a great swarm celebrating the god's deeds in the third strophe (ὁ δὲ [τεχνι]| τῶων πρόπας ἐσμὸς Ἀθθίδα λαχῶ[ν σε κιθα|ρί]|ζει κλυτὸν παῖδα μεγάλου Δ[ιὸς - - - - -], “And the whole swarm of *technitai* who have received Attica by lot, play to the *kithara* the famous son of great Zeus...”, 1-3). The hymn of Limenios traces the god's story from the shores of Delos<sup>290</sup> (which was reacquired by Athens in 167 BCE) to Attica (“first to

<sup>289</sup> Jacquemin et al 2012, 380-1, Pöhlmann and West 2001, 71, and Bélis *CID* III, p. 48-53. See also Schröder 1999, who argues for a date of 106/5 BCE for Limenios' *paian*, though his arguments have been rejected largely on epigraphical grounds (Pöhlmann and West 2001, 72).

<sup>290</sup> The poem's reference to the sacred olive touched by Leto before giving birth (5-7: ... χειρὶ γλαυκᾶ[α]ς ἐλαίας θιγουούσ[ - - - - - ]ς ἐριθα[λῆ]) reflects a distinctly Athenian tradition introduced to Apollo's cult and myth on Delos in the fifth century BCE (Karila-Cohen 2005, 222-3; Bruneau 1970, 18).

bear fruits”) before invoking an image of a frenzied swarm of *technītai* praising the god along with the “autochthonous people” of Athens (λαὸς αὐτ[ο]χθόνων ἡδὲ Βάκχου μέγας θυρσοπλή[ξ] ἐσμὸς ἱερὸς Τεχνιτῶν ἔνοικοος πόλει Κεκροπίαι, “the autochthonous people and Bacchos’ great thyrsos-stricke[n sacred s]warm of *technītai* dwelling in the Kekropian city”, 19-21). By leading Apollo’s story through a geography drawn from Athens and its political territory, both artists follow a Classical tradition that uses the *Pythaid* festival and Athenian performance culture more generally to emphasize the city’s central importance in the god’s cult at Delphi.<sup>291</sup>

As the artists emphasize the central importance of Athens to Apollo’s story, they seem to remove any trace of the Aitolians from their version of the sanctuary’s deliverance from the Gauls, which they appear to attribute solely to a miraculous intervention by the god.<sup>292</sup> This change in the “official” story is a subtle but all-important one in the hymns. Prior to the Aitolians taking over the Amphictyonic council and elevating the *Sotēria* to a penteteric festival in the mid-third century, the earliest popular tradition concerning the defeat of the Gauls at the sanctuary was based on the god’s divine interven-

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<sup>291</sup> See the table with a summary of sources for this tradition in Karila-Cohen 2005, 227. Notable examples of this Athenocentric framing of Apollo’s myth are Aesch. *Eum.* 9-16 and Ephorus *ap.* Strabo 9.3.12 (specifically tying the god’s journey to Delphi with the route taken by the *Pythaid* procession). Cf. also the Athenocentric version of Apollo’s myth in Euripides’ *Ion*.

<sup>292</sup> One can only speculate on this point for the hymn of Athenaïos, though one would be hard-pressed to find a way to fit the Aitolian army in among the god’s divine exploits in a strophe crowded with his accomplishments line after line (*F.D.* III.2.137, 25-6). In Limenios’ hymn, the god’s divine role in driving back the Gauls is more explicit in a separate strophe in the surviving text, which mentions a destructive snowy storm: [ὁ βάρ]βαρος ἄρης ὅτε [τε]ὸμ μαντόσυ[νον πολυκυ]θὲς λη<ι>ζόμενος ὤλεθ’ ὑγρᾷ χι[όνος - - - -] (*F.D.* II.2.138, 31-3).

tion, as preserved in a Coan decree of 278 BCE (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 398).<sup>293</sup> As part of their promotion of the newly-reformed *Sotēria*, however, the Aitolians emphasized their role in defending the sanctuary and removed the element of divine intervention from their version of events. Accepting this revised account of the defeat of the Gauls was part and parcel to the Greek world's acceptance of the new festival, as reflected in the responses of four communities, including Athens.<sup>294</sup> By reverting the myth back to its earlier version in their celebration of the *Pythaid*, the Athenians symbolically mark the absence of Aitolian control at the sanctuary and substitute their own influence on the god's cult by highlighting their city's importance early in his story.

It is quite fitting, in light of this reading, that the *technitai* offer prayers to augment the “endless” rule of the Romans (who were responsible for the Aitolians' demise) at the end of Limenios' hymn, where they are apparently credited with victory over an unknown enemy (*F.D.* III.2.138, 39-40: Ῥωμαίω[ν] ἀρχὰν αὖξετ' ἀγηράτωι θάλλ[ουσιν] - - - νίκαν, “increase the [spear-won?] rule of the Romans that is growing with ageless [?]. . . victory”). I think it is likely that the Aitolians are at the very least implied, particularly when one reads this inscribed hymn against the Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes, in which the Athenians beg the monarch to remove the Aitolian “Sphinx” from the sanctuary.<sup>295</sup> It is equally clear from the renewal of honors by the Amphictyony to the

<sup>293</sup> Cf. Paus. 10.23.1-9 and Justin. 24.7.6, 24.8.3-7. See Champion 1995, 214-17 for a discussion of this early tradition.

<sup>294</sup> Nachtergaele 1977, *Actes* 21-4. See also Champion 1995, 217-19 and esp. n. 20-21.

<sup>295</sup> τὴν δ' οὐχὶ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος / **Σφίγγα περικρατοῦσαν**, / **Αἰτωλόν**, ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος (Douris *FGrHist* 76 F 13, 3-5).



*technitai* in 130 BCE that Roman *imperium* was an important factor in the resurgence of the Athenian *synodos*. At the end of the decree, the Amphictyony shows an ultimate deference to Roman authority in granting privileges of *asylia* and *ateleia* to the Athenian artists "if nothing is in opposition to the Romans" (ἐὰν μὴ τι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπεναντίον ᾗ, *FD.* III.2.68, 60-1). The eastward expansion of Roman power in the second century may also link the Athenian *synodos* to Ariarathes V, whom the Roman Senate supported to succeed to the throne at the beginning of a long and cordial relationship.<sup>296</sup> Though it would be a stretch to say that Rome and the Senate determined these connections for the Athenian *synodos*, it is safe to say that their political control of the Greek mainland created a new network of authority in which the interests of Athens aligned with the Roman Senate and their eastern benefactors, which in turn created favorable conditions for the growth and promotion of the Athenian *synodos*, Athenian festivals, and Athenian culture as the standard in the *oikoumene*.<sup>297</sup>

#### **III.2.d. A Panegyric from the Amphictyony to the Athenian *synodos* (*FD.* III.2.69 [Ep. Cat. 10], 117/6 BCE?)**

This confluence of the Athenian myth of autochthony, cultural prowess, and the growth of the *synodos* is most clearly expressed in a later honorific decree to the Athenian artists,

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<sup>296</sup> On Ariarathes V and Rome, see (*inter al.*) Livy 42.19.3-6 (childhood in Rome); Polyb. 31.3 and 31.7.1 (Roman confirmation of his kingship and his renewal of ancestral friendship with Rome); Polyb. 3.5.2 and 32.10 (the exiled Ariarathes appeals to the Senate to support his claim to the throne and wins the backing of Ti. Gracchus among others); and App. *Mac.* 11.4 and Eutr. 4.6 (Rome solicits Ariarathes' support against Perseus of Macedon).

<sup>297</sup> Habicht 1999, 278: "[The Hymn of Limenios] expresses the accord prevailing between Delphi, the Amphictyony, Athens, and its artists' guilds, in which Rome was included."

this time from the Delphic Amphictyony (*F.D.* III.2.69 [Ep. Cat. 10], 117/6 BCE?).<sup>298</sup>

Following the customary list of archons and hiermnemons in the first ten lines of the decree, the resolution passed by the council begins with a flattering panegyric of the city of Athens and its cultural contributions to the Greek world. These include the domestication of mankind and its *koinonia* with one another, the introduction of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the invention of agriculture, which it gave as a gift to mankind (11-16). This lofty (if outlandish) preamble provides the backdrop for the Amphictyony's praise of the Athenian *synodos* in the following lines (16-19):

...πρῶτός τε πάντων, συναγα<γ>ὼν τεχνιτῶν σύνοδον  
[καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν, θ]υμελικ[οὺς καὶ σκ]ηνικ[οὺς] ἀγῶνας ἐποίησεν, οἷς καὶ συμβαίνει  
μαρτυρεῖν μὲν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἰ-  
[δίων τῆς πόλεως] ποιητῶ[ν, αὐτὴν] δὲ καὶ τ[ῇ]ν ἀλήθειαν ἐμφανῶς δεικνύειν,  
ὑπομνήσκουσιν ὅτι μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῶν  
[δραμάτων ἀπάντων, τ]ρα[γωιδίαν κ]αὶ κωμω[δίαν] εὐροῦσά τε καὶ ἀνέστησεν,

And having first of all gathered together a *synodos* of *technitai* [and competitors?], it created [th]ymeli[c and sc]enic contests, for which it happens that many p[ri]vate poets [of the city] bear testimony to demonstrate clearly that [this] is the truth; and they remind that Athens is the *metropolis* of [all dramas], having discovered and developed [t]ra[gedy] and comedy.

For these reasons, the Amphictyony decrees that the Athenian *synodos*, which it has received warmly many times in the past, remains worthy of esteem and is to be given all due privileges and benefits by the Amphictyony (19-22).

In this praise from the Amphictyony, one can find a reflection of the tone and language used in the celebratory hymns of Athenaios and Limenios composed for the

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<sup>298</sup> A fragmentary copy of this decree was found in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1134).

*Pythaid* of 128/7 BCE. For instance, the claim that Athens was the first city to learn agriculture before sharing that knowledge with the rest of the Greek world (15-16) echoes the hymn of Limenios, which calls Attica “first to bear fruits”.<sup>299</sup> Furthermore, the Amphictyony's declaration that Athens was the first to assemble a *synodos* of *technitai* recalls the emphasis placed on the “sacred swarm” of artists in both hymns, while placing their pre-eminence in the context of other Athenian “firsts” (agriculture, the mysteries, and perhaps most importantly, *koinonia*). This claim, obviously not to be taken at face value,<sup>300</sup> was important in that it reflects a desire for Athens and its artists to establish their primacy in Greek cultural history. Whereas the Ptolemaic association established its value by gathering an international slate of talent under the patronage of a single ruler cult, and the regional *koina* of Isthmia and Nemea and Ionia and the Hellespont collaborated to form a mutually-beneficial network of distinction, Athens could promote its long history of theatre culture that no one else could match. This was an element of its history that had long been a central part of its civic self-display.<sup>301</sup>

The Athenian ‘brand’ is vividly expressed in colonial language: Athens, as inventor of tragedy and comedy, is called the *metropolis* of drama (18-19), implying that all

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<sup>299</sup> τότε λιπὼν Κουνθίαν νᾶσον ἐπ[έβα θεὸς] **πρω[τό]κα<α>ρπὸν κλυτὰν Ἀτ<θ>ί<δ>**’ (*FD.* III.2.138, 13-14).

<sup>300</sup> The text grammatically suggests that the *synodos* was formed before the creation of dramatic and musical contests (συναγα<γ>ῶν τεχνιτῶν σύνοδον... ἁγῶνας ἐποίησεν, 16-17), which is countered by the fact that the earliest evidence for the Athenian *synodos* dates to 279/8 BCE (*FD.* III.2.68) whereas the City *Dionysia* began to be celebrated in the Classical period.

<sup>301</sup> Hanink 2014 covers this in detail for the period of the Lykourgan reforms in late fourth century BCE Athens. Concerning the contents of *FD.* III.2.69, she writes, “Lykourgos *redivivus* would certainly have been pleased to see these words inscribed on the Athenian treasury in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi, a monumental affirmation on view to all Greece of the ‘theatrical’ vision that he and other contemporaries of his had worked so hard to propagate.” (233)

other cities with theatre are in a sense its cultural colonies. This expression of its “soft power” is subtly couched in an understanding of the larger unifying *koinē* that was an operative concept in the second-century Mediterranean, with Athens given pride of place as its progenitor. The Amphictyony thus credits Athens as the founder of *koinonia* who taught the communal virtues of social interaction (*chrēsis*) and trust (*pistis*) to the rest of the Greeks through the Eleusinian mysteries (13-14). The connection to Eleusis is particularly significant for the *technitai*: we know from an inscription dating after Sulla's destruction of Athens that the Athenian *synodos* dedicated their own altar and took part in festivities at the sanctuary.<sup>302</sup>

If we follow the analogy of Athens as the cultural “mother city” to the Greek world, then the artists of the *synodos* are its cultural colonizers. Thus, they are credited with the creation of the dramatic arts, and the great number of artists in residence at Athens is upheld as proof of this rhetorical claim (17-18). This claim in turn serves as an important basis for the honors and privileges that follow. After naming the ambassadors sent by the *synodos* to the Amphictyony to petition for privileges, including the right to wear crowns in every city as befitting ancestral custom,<sup>303</sup> the Council proclaims the following resolution:

ὅπως οὖν οἱ Ἀμφικτύο-

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<sup>302</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1338 (ca. 76 BCE). The decree records honors for a member of the *synodos*, a certain Philemon, who paid for the restoration of the *temenos* of the sanctuary as well as an altar to Demeter and Kore belonging to the association (See Le Guen 2001 TE 15; Aneziri s.v. A12).

<sup>303</sup> ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ καθιστάμενοι ἱερεῖς ὑ[π]ὸ [τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις τεχνιτῶν [στεφανηφορεῖν το]ῦ[ς] παρίους στεφάνους ἐμὴ πάσῃ πόλει, ἥτις ἐπὶ μηδενὸς κωλύμενοι (25-6)

[νες φαίνονται τοῦ τε Διο[νύσου τοῦ Μελπομέ]νου, ὁμ[οίως τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν  
τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθη-  
30 [ναίων, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τὴν με[γ]ί[στην ποιοῦμεν]οι πρόνοιαν· vacat?  
δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν τοὺς ἱερεῖ[ς]  
[τοὺς καθισταμένους ὑπὸ τῶ]ν τεχνιτῶν [τ]ῶ[ν ἐν Ἀθήναις χρ]υσοφορεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς  
κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις κατὰ τὰ πά-  
[τρια, ὁμοίως τε καὶ πορφυροφ]ορεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐξε[ῖ]να[ι κωλύειν αὐτοῦς] μήτε πόλιν  
μήτε ἄρ]χοντα μή[τε ἰδι]ώτην·

And so, in order that the Amphictyons [may appear to] show the utmost care for Dio[nysus Melpome]nos and likewise the other gods who dwell in the *polis* of the Athe[nians, as well as the *koinon* of *tech[nitai]*, it was resolved by the Amphictyons that the priests [elected by the] *technitai* in Athens may wear gold for the gods throughout all the *poleis* according to the ancestral cust[oms, and likewise that they may wear pur]ple, and that it not be possible for any *polis*, ruler, or private individual [to impede them].

The rights of *chrysophoria* and *porphyrophoria* are exceptional for the associations and beg for an explanation in historical context, which is not easy to supply for the decree. Due to the lacunose nature of the first ten lines of the inscription, which includes a list of magistrates and hieromnemons in the Amphictyonic council, it is difficult to assign a precise date to the decree. This issue hinges on dating the Delphic archonship of Eukleidas, who is named in line 1,<sup>304</sup> since no Athenian archon appears in the surviving text. Daux, in his edition of *F.D.* III.2.69, dated the archonship of Eukleidas “in the environs” of 125 BCE, though later scholarship has shown that Eukleidas must have been an archon between 123/22 and 116 BCE (Follet 1998, 246-9).

<sup>304</sup> *F.D.* III.2.69, 1: [ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Εὐκλείδου τοῦ Κα]λλεῖδο[υ... Eukleidas is also known from a series of documents attesting to a legal dispute between the Amphictyony and the *polis* of Delphi over the embezzlement of funds from the sanctuary ca. 120-115 BCE (Jacquemin et al 2013, nos. 174-7), though these are of no help in obtaining a more precise date for *F.D.* III.2.69 (see Jacquemin et al. 2013, 357).

Within this range of possibility, most scholars favor a date of 117/6 BCE for Eukleidas' archonship and this decree, because it would situate the Amphictyony's honors well within the unfolding dispute between the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations of *technitai*. As the text of the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE indicates, the Athenian *synodos* brought the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* to suit in an arbitration before Cnaeus Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of the Macedonian province, in 118/7 BCE,<sup>305</sup> which resulted in a fine of ten talents against the *koinon* for failing to cooperate with the Athenian artists as previously ordered (*F.D.* III.2.70, 32-5 [Ep. Cat. 12], 112/1 BCE).<sup>306</sup> The fact that *F.D.* III.2.69 is inscribed within the assemblage of documents for the *Pythaid* celebrations on the south wall of the Athenian treasury (see FIGURE 2, no. 69), and that it echoes language from the Hymn of Limenios, underscores the general connection between the Amphictyony's honors and the participation of the Athenian *technitai* in this festival.

While I am not inclined to place complete confidence in this date, it would seem to fit well in what we know of the larger narrative of the dispute between the mainland associations. Given that the Athenian *synodos*, as an institutional expression of their city's cultural preeminence, was at odds with the collaborative efforts of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, it comes as no surprise that any display of superiority in the form of victory

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<sup>305</sup> On the date of Sisenna's term as governor, see Sherk 1969, 91 n. 3.

<sup>306</sup> Specifically, the Senate ordered both associations to cooperate at Argos and Thebes in a *senatus consultum* from either 138 or 134 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.70, 21), which entailed the establishment of common funds (Sherk 1969, 90-1).

crowns and purple garments outside of Attica would have raised more than a few hackles.<sup>307</sup> At Thebes for example, through which the *synodos* would have processed en route to Delphi to celebrate the *Pythaid*, such a show of exclusive wealth and power may have been taken as an insult to any artists of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. In the midst of a protracted legal dispute that had just resulted in a ten talent fine in favor of the Athenian artists, it would have been sensible to ensure that the Athenian artists had the explicit protection of the Delphic Amphictyony in order to wear their finest clothes outside of their territory.

### III.2.e: The *Pythaid* of Agathokles (106/5 BCE)

The involvement of the Athenian *synodos* in the *Pythaid* of Agathokles is attested by an honorific decree from the the *polis* of Delphi to the association (*F.D.* III.2.49 — See FIGURE 2, no. 49). The text of the decree is quite unusual, as the first two and final eight lines (beginning at line 37) are fully inscribed, while the middle 35 lines of the inscription are, for the most part, blank with the exception of a few short groups of letters that were inscribed seemingly at random. In his study of the inscription, Tracy argues that the letter cutter, working in free-hand for the surviving inscribed portions, decided to take a shortcut by simply painting the names of the artists whose names would have been listed in the

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<sup>307</sup> Consider, for example, that in their brief to the Roman Senate before the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* mockingly referred to their rivals as “those who think they are *technitai* in Athens” (τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις φ[άσκ]οντας εἶναι τεχνίτας, *F.D.* III.2.70, 37-8)

middle part of the inscription as participants honored by the Amphictyony (1975, 86).<sup>308</sup> Vanderpool (1977), noting that the entire surface had been worked with a rasp to prepare the stone for receiving paint, offered the simpler and more compelling suggestion that the whole text was initially painted on the stone and then later inscribed in places where the paint had smudged or faded. In any case, one can only estimate the total number of *technitai* who took part in the *Pythaid*, but based on a rough estimate, in comparison to the list of participants from the *Pythaid* of Argeios (*F.D.* III.2.48, 98/7 BCE) it is generally agreed that around one hundred individuals' names in total would have been included, of which thirty-two survive.<sup>309</sup>

The honors from Delphi reaffirm their favorable disposition towards the Athenian artists after successive celebrations of the *Pythaid* and the legal victory of the *synodos* over the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* in the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE. Thus, the decree recycles much of the panegyric honors from the Amphictyony in *F.D.* III.2.69, which was inscribed directly to the left of this inscription (see FIGURE 2, nos. 69 and 49). The artists are thus credited for their *eusebeia* towards Apollo, the honor they paid to the

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<sup>308</sup> He details his hypothesis as follows: "To escape notice all [the letter cutter] had to do was give the appearance of cutting, for it would take several years, perhaps longer, for the paint to wash away and expose him. He could certainly depend on the fact that no one would trouble to climb up on the side of the Treasury and carefully scrutinise his work. By keeping a watchful eye out, he could easily have been cutting whenever someone in charge happened to pass by the Treasury; in this way the random groups of incised letters might have come into being. No doubt he cut completely the last half dozen or so lines, because they were nearest the bottom and thus most likely to be noticed by those passing by. This explanation, although of necessity imaginative, seems human and not unparalleled in the annals of the modern working man." (Tracy 1975, 86).

<sup>309</sup> See Tracy 1975b, 217 and n. 9.



Athenian *demos* in performance, and for having been the first to discover *paideia* (*F.D.* III.2.49, 1-3).<sup>310</sup>

The end of the decree is marked by rote honorific language praising the *eusebeia* of the artists and delegating the task of announcing the honors. In one notable measure, the *polis* of Delphi resolves to read the honors for the Athenian *technitai* at celebrations of both the *Pythia* and the *Sotēria* (38-9: ...τὰν δὲ ἀναγόμευσιν τούτῳ[ν ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας | ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν τε Πυθίων καὶ Σωτηρίων ἀ[κολούθως τῷ ψα]φίσματι...). The fact that the exclusively Athenian *synodos* would be honored publicly at a festival once co-organized by the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* suggests that Athens had further extended its cultural influence in the sanctuary at the expense of the older network of cooperation formed between regional *koina*.

### III.2.f: The Pythaid of Argeios (98/7 BCE)

The final document attesting the *synod*'s activity in the *Pythaid* is another honorific decree from the *polis* of Delphi to the *synodos* (*F.D.* III.2.48 [Ep. Cat. 11], 98/7 BCE) — see FIGURE 2, no. 48). Much of its language, particularly at the beginning, is recycled from the earlier honors from the city to the association in *F.D.* III.2.49, though the text survives in better condition. The artists of the *synodos* are given credit for having invent-

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<sup>310</sup> See the text of *F.D.* III.2.48 (98/7 BCE), discussed below, which provided Colin with most of the restorations made here.

ed *paideia* and the dramatic arts (διὰ τὸ πρῶτους αὐτοὺς εὐρέτας<sup>311</sup> γεγονέναι πᾶσ[ας  
 παιδείας | καὶ σκανικῶν ἁγώνων κτιτά[ς, “because they were the first discoverers of al[l  
 e]ducation and the founder[s] of the scenic contests”, 5-6). After an exhaustive list of the  
 rituals they performed, including the singing of an ancestral *paian* and performance of  
 sacrifices (7-14), the decree goes on to list one hundred artists from the association who  
 took part in the celebration, organized by their role in the administration of the festival  
 and in performance (15-58). This was the largest contingent of artists sent to a celebration  
 of the *Pythaid* since the festival was revived in the second century. It included members  
 dispatched as *theoroi* by the association (15-17), singers and musicians who took part in  
 choral *paians* to Apollo (17-29), and participants in the musical and dramatic *agōnes* at  
 the festival (29-38).<sup>312</sup> In the decree, the Delphians explicitly state that even the festivities  
 organized by the *technitai* were unprecedented in scale (11).

The increased scale and complexity of the festival is explained in part by the  
 greater attention that Athenian magistrates paid towards its organization by the end of the  
 second century. In this honorific decree, for the first time, the festival is called “en-  
 neateric”, celebrated every ninth year in accordance with Apollo’s oracle (8). Further-  
 more, unlike the earlier second-century celebrations, the *Pythaid* of Argeios was funded  
 by regular annual contributions from Athenian magistrates that were recorded beginning

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<sup>311</sup> Colin (*F.D.* III.2.48) and Jacquemin et al. (*Choix* 202): εὐ<ε>ρ<γ>έτας. I find the restoration unneces-  
 sary in light of the parallels between the claim that the *technitai* “discovered” *paideia* and the larger pane-  
 gyric claims made by the Amphictyony in *F.D.* III.2.69 (see above).

<sup>312</sup> The *agōnes* included competitions for epic poets, rhapsodes, musicians, and all three dramatic genres  
 (tragedy, comedy, and satyr drama) with prizes for actors and tragic poets.

in 103/2 BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2336).<sup>313</sup> It is perhaps to this greater attention to organization by state officials that we can also attribute the increased participation of the *synodos* of *technitai*, whom the Delphians credit for arranging sacrifices, a procession, and other offerings to Apollo in addition to their performances (9-12).

### **III.3: The *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.70)**

One of the longest of the over one-hundred inscriptions that cover the walls of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (*F.D.* III.2.70 [Ep. Cat. 12], 112/1 BCE) records multiple stages of the protracted quarrel between the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations of *technitai*, which culminated with a *senatus consultum* in 112/1 BCE upholding a fine of ten talents in favor of the Athenian artists. The text, only half of which survives, originally covered four orthostate blocks on the southwest corner of the treasury, where it prominently faced visitors to the sanctuary as they made their way up the so-called Sacred Way to the Temple of Apollo (See FIGURE 2, no. 70). It is no coincidence that the Athenian victory over the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* was inscribed within the dossier that documented successive celebrations of the *Pythaid* in the late second century, as well as lavish honors from the Amphietyony that allowed the *synodos* to wear gold and purple wherever they traveled. Indeed, the Athenian celebrations of the *Pythaid* and claims to cultural pre-eminence were at the heart of the long dispute.

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<sup>313</sup> See Tracy 1982 for a full study of the text. Contributions from individuals ranged from 50-200 drachmas annually, and notably included donations from Athenian priests in the Delian cult of Apollo.

The technical cause of the conflict lay in the allotment of festivals and funds to which the associations had access. As discussed above, this was apparently an ongoing issue, one that initially led to a *senatus consultum* under the consul Publius Cornelius (138 BCE or 134 BCE) that ordered the cooperation of the Athenian and Isthmian-Nemean associations in Thebes and Argos. This arrangement held for only two decades. In 112/1, the Athenians brought four charges against the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* before the Roman Senate: first, they accused them of hindering the Athenian artists from performing at certain festivals and meeting their religious obligations to do so (lines 19, 25-6); second, they accused them of forming a new *synodos* of artists at Sikyon, which directly contravened a stipulation from the earlier *senatus consultum* of P. Cornelius (lines 20, 26); third, they accused them of embezzling common funds to their own purse (lines 20, 22); finally, they accused them of failing to pay a ten-talent fine issued after an arbitration overseen by the proconsul Cnaeus Cornelius Sisenna at Pella in 118/7 BCE as recompense for the first three actions.

The counterarguments from the Isthmian-Nemean artists are recorded *verbatim* in the same inscription (*FD.* III.2.70, 32-53). In their view, the fine issued in 118/7 BCE was invalid because their ambassadors to the arbitration hearing agreed to the fine against the direct orders of the *koinon* (lines 17-18, 36). In response, they condemned these ambassadors upon their return to Thebes (39-40), which prompted the artists in Thebes and Boiotia to form their own *synodos* in protest against the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. This rogue *synodos*, according to the Isthmian-Nemean argument, stole the *koinon*'s archives,

prizes, offerings, and crowns that were collected from victories and honors at festivals (41-4). These dissidents subsequently formed their own arrangements with the Athenian artists (37-8), which prevented the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* from fulfilling its standing obligations to various festivals and patrons, including the Romans (45-6).

Behind the financial and administrative quarrels between the two associations lay a larger, and arguably more important, cultural conflict between Athens and its neighbors on the mainland. The Athenian *synodos*' participation in their state's exclusive celebration at the sanctuary was fundamentally at odds with the collaborative efforts of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* that had previously ensured an international slate of performers at multiple festivals (including the *Sotēria* at Delphi). It is perhaps to the credit of the Athenian *synodos* that even modern scholars take Athenian cultural primacy for granted in the Hellenistic period.<sup>314</sup> While it is not my goal to argue directly against this, it is important to recognize that the *claim* of cultural superiority was at the heart of the second-century *Pythaid*s. This is seen most vividly in the Athenocentric character of the two paians sung in the *Pythaid* of 128/7 BCE, which celebrate Athens' exclusive connection to Delphi along with the city's "sacred swarm" of *technitai*. This celebration of Athens' cultural primacy is further reflected in the flowery honorific decree from the Amphictyony to Athens, which names the city as the founder of mankind's *koinonia* (*F.D.* III.2.69).

Thus, the protracted conflict between the Isthmian-Nemean and Athenian associations lay not only in the allotment of festivals and funds but in their competing cultural

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<sup>314</sup> Tracy assumes as much when arguing that the *Pythaid* celebrated "Athens' cultural leadership in Greece, especially in the field of drama **where she could indeed lay special claim to preeminence**" (1982: 152).

networks. For the *koina* of the northern Aegean, an international festival was given legitimacy by the participation of artists from a broad geographic range, which they ensured through their broad membership and their network of *theoroi*. For the members of the Athenian *synodos*, on the other hand, an affiliation with the “metropolis” of *koinonia* and of drama itself served as its own more exclusive means of legitimation.

For the reader’s benefit, I provide a timeline below to further illustrate the correlation between the reappearance of the Athenian *synodos*, the revival of the *Pythaid* festival, and the lengthy legal dispute between the two artists’ associations.

Table 3: Second Century BCE Timeline for the Mainland Associations		
Date	Event	Evidence
163-130 BCE	The Athenian <i>synodos</i> decrees honors for Ariarathes V and Nysa of Cappadocia after sending an embassy to their court and receiving gifts in return.	IG II <sup>2</sup> 1330
146/5-145/4 BCE	Mummius ensures protections for the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine <i>koina</i> in two separate letters inscribed on the same stone in Thebes	IG VII 2413-2414
138/7 BCE	The <i>Pythaid</i> of Timarchos, which features two members of the Athenian <i>synodos</i> as <i>choro-didaskaloi</i>	F.D. III.2.11 (artists named in lines 20-22)
138 or 134 BCE	First <i>senatus consultum</i> enforcing cooperation between the Athenian <i>synodos</i> and the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> in Thebes and Argos	F.D. III.2.70, 20-21.
130 BCE	The Delphic Amphictyony renews honors for the Athenian <i>synodos</i> of <i>technitai</i> that it had previously issued in 280/79 BCE.	F.D. III.2.68 Decree of 280/79: Lines 1-61 Decree of 130 BCE: Lines 61-94

**Table 3: Second Century BCE Timeline for the Mainland Associations**

Date	Event	Evidence
128 BCE	The Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> dedicates a statue base to P. Cornelius Lentulus at Delphi (unrelated to the Publius Cornelius who was consul during the <i>senatus consultum</i> of 138 or 134 BCE ).	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 704 B.
128/7 BCE	The <i>Pythaid</i> of Dionysios. The Athenian <i>synodos</i> sends 57 <i>technitai</i> , some of whom perform two hymns that were subsequently inscribed on the south wall of the Athenian treasury. The <i>polis</i> of Delphi decrees honors for the Athenian <i>synodos</i> .	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.47 (honors from Delphi) <i>F.D.</i> III.2.137 (Hymn of Athenaïos) <i>F.D.</i> III.2.138 (Hymn of Limenios)  FIGURE 2, nos. 47, 137, 138.
118/7 BCE	The Athenian <i>synodos</i> brings suit against the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> before Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of the province of Macedonia, due to the <i>koinon</i> 's refusal to cooperate with the Athenian artists as decreed in the first <i>senatus consultum</i> . Both parties are summoned to arbitration, where Sisenna issues a ten talent fine against the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> to be paid to the Athenian <i>synodos</i> .	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.70, 32-5.

**Table 3: Second Century BCE Timeline for the Mainland Associations**

Date	Event	Evidence
Between 118/7 and 112/1 BCE	<p>The Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> condemns its ambassadors who agreed to the ten-talent fine.</p> <p>In protest, the artists in Thebes and Boiotia form an independent <i>synodos</i> that absconds with the <i>koinon</i>'s archives and funds after forming their own arrangements with the Athenian <i>synodos</i>.</p> <p>A <i>synodos</i> is also formed in Sikyon by the remaining members of the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i>, who embezzle funds that were once common to their association and the Athenian <i>synodos</i>.</p> <p>The Athenian <i>synodos</i> sends ambassadors to the Roman senate to ask for a <i>senatus consultum</i> against the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i>.</p>	<p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 17-18 and 39-40 (The <i>koinon</i> condemns its own ambassadors)</p> <p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 37-8 and 41-4 (The artists in Thebes and Boiotia form their own <i>synodos</i> in protest and make their own arrangements with the Athenian <i>synodos</i>.)</p> <p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 18-23 (The remaining members of the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> form another <i>synodos</i> in Sikyon and embezzle common funds.)</p> <p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 23 (The Athenian artists go to the Roman Senate to appeal for another <i>senatus consultum</i>.)</p>
117/6 BCE?	The Delphic Amphictyony grants lavish honors to the Athenian <i>synodos</i> , including the unprecedented rights of <i>chrysophoria</i> and <i>porphyrophoria</i> for its members without any impediment by any individual or <i>polis</i> .	<i>F.D. III.2.69</i>
112/1 BCE	Ambassadors are sent by the <i>polis</i> of Athens (on behalf of the Athenian <i>synodos</i> of <i>technitai</i> ) and the Isthmian-Nemean <i>koinon</i> (independently) to the Roman Senate, which upholds the fine of ten talents in favor of the Athenian <i>synodos</i> .	<p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 6-9 and 19-31 (Ambassadors from both parties sent to Rome.)</p> <p><i>F.D. III.2.70</i>, 53-66 (The final <i>senatus consultum</i> in favor of the Athenian artists.)</p>
106/5 BCE	The <i>Pythaid</i> of Agathokles, which included as many as one hundred members of the Athenian <i>synodos</i> of <i>technitai</i> , which is honored by the <i>polis</i> of Delphi.	<p><i>F.D. III.2.49</i> (The <i>polis</i> of Delphi honors the Athenian <i>synodos</i>.)</p>



Table 3: Second Century BCE Timeline for the Mainland Associations		
Date	Event	Evidence
98/7 BCE	The <i>Pythaid</i> of Argeios, which includes one hundred <i>technitai</i> who are honored by the <i>polis</i> of Delphi.	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.48 (The <i>polis</i> of Delphi honors the Athenian <i>synodos</i> .)

Following the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE, there is no evidence for the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, which appears to have effectively dissolved after self-standing *synodoi* were formed by rival factions at Thebes and Sikyon.<sup>315</sup> The victorious Athenian *synodos* would go on to send its largest contingents to the two subsequent celebrations of the *Pythaid*, taking a leading role in organizing the sumptuous processions and contests in exchange for honors from the city of Delphi. The very act of inscribing these honors and the lengthy *senatus consultum* on the south wall of the Athenian treasury was a declaration of cultural supremacy that was intended to echo the city's glorified past.

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<sup>315</sup> Shortly before the final hearing in Rome, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* honored one of its treasurers in Argos, a certain Zenon, who helped raise funds to renovate its facilities in the city in 114/13 BCE (*IG* IV 558). The same decree lists honors for King Nikomedes of Bithynia, who presumably helped bankroll some of the renovations, possibly after being petitioned by Zenon or other members of the *koinon*. It is unclear what, if any, financial pressure may have come from the heavy fine imposed on the *koinon* by Cornelius Sisenna in 118/7 BCE.

#### IV. Summary

In mainland Greece during the third and second centuries BCE, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, a federal association with branches located in cities throughout Boeotia, Euboea, and the Peloponnese, organized and participated in a number of local festivals. As evidenced from the epigraphic dossiers for the *Sotēria* at Delphi, the *Mouseia* at Thespiai, and the *Agrionia* at Thebes, the *koinon* served two primary functions. First, it ensured an international slate of performers for the festivals through the participation of its broad membership and by collaborating with other associations, particularly the Ionian-Hellaspontine *koinon*. Second, as seen in its acceptance of the *Mouseia*, the association promoted festivals to the Greek world by dispatching their own *theoroi*, presenting their acceptance as an important step to obtaining panhellenic recognition and distinction for a new or reformed contest.

The Athenian *synodos* of *technitai*, in contrast, served an expression of its city's cultural supremacy, a notion which was at odds with the collaborative impulse of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. By the middle of the second century, during Athens' political resurgence under Roman patronage, the artists formed exclusive euergetical relationships with foreign elites such as Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, whom the *synodos* honored with annual rites and the institution of a new festival in his honor at Athens. The bulk of the association's activity is found in a second century epigraphic dossier for the Athenian *Pythaid* festivals celebrated at Delphi. In their role as participants and organizers of this celebration, which highlighted their city's exclusive ties to the cult of Apollo *Pythios* and

the sanctuary of Delphi, the association derived its prestige from a cultivated notion of Athenian cultural supremacy, which was displayed in a series of honorific decrees and paians that were inscribed prominently on the south wall of the Athenian treasury.

By the end of the second century, the relations between the two associations were strained by a decades-long legal dispute that centered on the groups' access to festivals on the periphery of Attica and on the allotment of common festival funds. Following a series of *senatus consulta* and an arbitration with Cornelius Sisenna, then governor of Macedonia, the Athenian artists won their case decisively in 112/1 BCE, when the Roman Senate upheld a fine of ten talents against the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. On available evidence, this decision proved to be crippling for the *koinon*, which disappears from the epigraphic record after this legal defeat. The Athenian *synodos*, on the other hand, would continue to participate with even greater numbers in the *Pythaiads* at Delphi, thriving under their beneficial relationship with Rome.

### **Chapter 3: The Ptolemaic Association**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter traces the history of the Ptolemaic association of *technītai*, the only one of the four associations that was, for its entire history, devoted both to Dionysos and a ruler cult of a Hellenistic kingdom. Within the Ptolemaic kingdom, it served two principal functions. First, the association in Alexandria, which was comprised of actors and poets from throughout the Greek world, formed part of the cosmopolitan collection of Greek culture that symbolized the court's powerful reach and wealth, along with the construction of the Library and *Mouseion*. The association was also instrumental for the institution of a new festival, the *Ptolemaieia*, which celebrated the Ptolemies as Alexander's legitimate heirs and rightful masters over the *oikoumene*, as seen in the famous *pompe* of Philadelphos recorded by Kallixeinos of Rhodes. The association's branches in Upper Egypt and Cyprus acted as a powerful extension of the court itself, offering honors to local benefactors and elites on behalf of the royal family and organizing local festivals in connection with the court's dynastic worship of Dionysos as an ancestral god.

The epigraphic and literary evidence for the Ptolemaic association of *technītai* reveals a complex and dynamic relationship between the cultural aspirations of the artists and the political aims of the royal court. Though relatively few inscriptions from the association survive compared to the substantial *corpora* known for the *synodos* of Athens

and the *koina* of Isthmia and Nemea and Ionia and the Hellespont,<sup>316</sup> these are supplemented by a rich body of literary evidence that firmly embeds the Ptolemaic artists in the long and colorful history of the dynasty. No epigraphic evidence survives from Alexandria or from the reign of Ptolemy Soter, whose early interest in the political value of Dionysos' cult nevertheless proved to be a significant influence on his successors. Despite this lack of evidence, there is little doubt that the great capital was the center of activity for the incorporated artists under the patronage of the Ptolemies from an early stage in their dynasty.

Although few inscriptions from the Ptolemaic association survive, they exhibit its most striking feature. Their full official title, unlike those of the mainland and Ionian associations, declares their ties both to Dionysos and to the royal cult of the Ptolemies. *OGIS* 51 (272-249 BCE), for example, begins with a resolution proposed by “the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the *theoi adelphoi*”.<sup>317</sup> The later inscriptions from Cyprus show that the cults of Philadelphos' successors were substituted in the formula:

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<sup>316</sup> Aneziri identifies eleven (2003, E1-E11). Le Guen identifies twelve inscriptions (2001 I, TE 60-71), including a gem inscribed with a metrical hymn that may indicate its wearer's membership in the Cypriot branch of the Ptolemaic association (TE 71). Nine inscriptions come from Cyprus, all of which date to the late second century BCE and consist of short honorific dedications to local elites in the island's Ptolemaic government. See Aneziri 2004 for a full discussion of these inscriptions, including a detailed study of their dates. Her views are largely summarized and echoed by Anastassiades 2010. The other two inscriptions, which are considerably more substantial (*OGIS* 50 and 51), come from ancient Ptolemais-Hermiou (modern El Menshah) in Upper Egypt and date closer to the end of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

<sup>317</sup> *OGIS* 51, 1-2: ἔδοξεν τεχνίταις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Ἀδελφούς. The *theoi adelphoi* refers to the cult of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II.

*OGIS* 164 (105-88 BCE) and *OGIS* 166 (105/4 BCE) both refer to “the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the *theoi euergetai*”.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> In both texts, lines 4-5: τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν. The *theoi euergetai* refer to Ptolemy IX

## I. The Artists and Cosmopolitanism in Ptolemaic Alexandria

Looking past the epigraphic corpus, one can find a wealth of literary evidence that attests to the cultural politics (or “geopoetics”)<sup>319</sup> of the Alexandrian court from the third century onward, some of which either directly or indirectly attest to the activity of the Ptolemaic *technitai*. This body of evidence paints a picture in which the Alexandrian court set a premium for a cosmopolitan aggregation of Greek artists from far afield at the new capital as an expression of its power and influence. The construction of the great Library and *Mouseion*, which similarly aimed to collect copies of Greek works from throughout the *oikoumenē* (occasionally at the expense of cities whose works were ‘stolen’ from them)<sup>320</sup> seems to have drawn many artists to Egypt. These include the famous examples of the Sicilian Theocritus and the Cyrenean Callimachus, and a glance at the list of members in

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<sup>319</sup> The concept of “geopoetics” has become a fashionable one for exploring the intersection of geopolitics and poetic aesthetics in the works of ancient authors. K. White 1992 “Elements of Geopoetics” in *Edinburgh Review* 88: 163-81 first coined the phrase to describe a “higher unity” of poetry and geography” (174), before Barchiesi adapted it for his study of “Virgilian Geopoetics” in his Gray Lectures from 2001. Gutzwiller 2004 extended this term to her discussion of Posidippus’ epigrams and their delineation of Ptolemaic geopolitical power. Asper 2011 similarly shows that the geopoetics of Callimachus’ *Aetia* and *Iambi* are embedded in Ptolemaic political conceptions of space and time, refashioning panhellenism to the particular ends of the dynasty. Höschele 2011, prefers the term “cosmopoetics” for her study of a more universally-inclusive conception of space and time in the epigrams of the Syrian Meleager. See Asper 2011, 155-6 and n. 2.

<sup>320</sup> According to Galen (*Comm. in Hipp. epidem.* 3.12a.606-7) Ptolemy III Euergetes ordered that all books which arrived by ship into the capital were to be taken to the library and copied; the copies were later returned to the ships while the originals remained in the city. As the story goes, Euergetes particularly affronted the Athenians by issuing a fifteen-talent deposit for the official state copies of the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides (which were commissioned by Lykourgos in the late fourth century), but insisted on keeping the originals and leaving the deposit with the Athenians. Aristéas (letter 310) records a similar story in which Ptolemy II Philadelphos stole the texts of the Pentateuch from the Jews for his library.

the so-called *Pleiad* of Tragedians under the patronage of Philadelphos shows that the court was also able to draw theatrical talent from far afield.<sup>321</sup>

All of this can be understood as a comprehensive strategy by the Ptolemies to legitimate themselves to their many subjects, both in Egypt and in other territories under their influence. Their ability to attract artists, who continued to be instruments of cultural capital as they had been for Alexander and Phillip II, enabled the Ptolemies to distinguish themselves from both their political rivals (particularly the Seleukids to the East and the Antigonids to the North) and their cultural rivals (most notably Athens).<sup>322</sup> The cosmopolitanism of Alexandria's literary and artistic scene was thus integral to the broader political aims of the Ptolemies, who fashioned themselves as universal kings with a claim to Alexander's conquered territories and as liberators of the Greek *poleis* throughout the *oikoumenē*.<sup>323</sup> The *technitai* of the Ptolemaic association, who came to Alexandria from

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<sup>321</sup> Various ancient sources produce slightly different lists of the *Pleiad*, most of which date the artists to the reign of Philadelphos (see Kotlinska-Toma 2014, Table 2). Consistent members include Philiskos of Corcyra, Homeros of Byzantium, Lykophron of Chalkis, Alexander of Aetolia, and Sositheos of Alexandria Troas.

<sup>322</sup> The polemic with Athens is quite explicit in the Greek Anthology of epigrams, which often superimpose Alexandrian poetic ingenuity over the resplendent but crystallized forms of Athenian poetic achievement that 'peaked' in the fifth century. Take, for instance, a pair of epigrams composed by Dioscorides, which purport to be the pair of fictional epitaphs for the Athenian Sophocles (*AP* 7.37), and the archaizing Alexandrian court poet Sositheos (*AP* 7.307). In the former, a statue of a satyr tells the passerby that the Athenian poet took him from his rustic home in Phlius, wrought him in gold, and dressed him in purple; upon the poet's death, he ceased to dance and rests at the tomb. Sositheos' satyr, by contrast, praises his artist for reintroducing the rustic character of the music praised by the satyrs in Phlius. Another epigram for the comic poet Machon of Corinth (whose career was spent in Alexandria) closes with the deceased poet saying "O City of Cecrops, there are times when even by the Nile the bitter thyme of the Muses has grown" (Κέκροπος πόλι, καὶ παρὰ Νεῖλῳ ἔστιν ὅτ' ἐν Μούσαις δριμὺ πέφυκε θύμον, *AP* 7.708, 5-6). According to Athenaeus (6.241e-f) this epigram was inscribed on Machon's tomb in Alexandria. See Fantuzzi 2007 on epigrams pertaining to theater.

<sup>323</sup> I use the term "cosmopolitan" to distinguish the diverse collection of artists in Alexandria from the "metropolitan" Athenian *synodos*, which was comprised of Athenian citizens exclusively and celebrated their city as the *mētropolis* of Greek culture (see *F.D.* III.2.69, 15-20 (late 2nd c. BCE)).



far and wide along with many other Greeks, were both an expression and a promotion of this cosmopolitan culture in Alexandria and the outer territories of the Ptolemaic kingdom.

Accordingly, artists under the patronage of the court reflected the aspirations of the dynasty in their works. In his *Hymn to Delos*, Callimachus famously articulates a broad dominion for the Ptolemaic kingdom, in which Philadelphos “shall rule over the Two Countries<sup>324</sup> and over the lands that lie beside the sea, as far as the edge of the earth, where the swift horses always bring the sun” (Call. *Hymn* 4.169-70).<sup>325</sup> Theocritus, in his own encomium to Philadelphos, similarly envisages a wide territory under the sway of his patron:

καὶ μὴν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμενεται Ἀραβίας τε  
καὶ Συρίας Λιβύας τε κελαινῶν τ’ Αἰθιοπῶν.  
Παμφύλοισί τε πᾶσι καὶ αἰχμηταῖς Κιλικέσσι  
σαμαίνει, Λυκίοις τε φιλοπτολέμοισί τε Καρσί,  
καὶ νάσοις Κυκλάδεσσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ νᾶες ἄρισται      90  
πόντον ἐπιπλῶντι, θάλασσα δὲ πᾶσα καὶ αἶα  
καὶ ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαίῳ.  
(Id.17.86-92)

He takes slices of Phoenicia and Arabia and Syria and Libya and the dark-skinned Ethiopians; all the Pamphylians and the warriors of Cilicia he commands, and the Lycians and the Carians, who delight in war, and the islands of the Cyclades, for his are the finest ships sailing the ocean. All the sea and the land and the crashing rivers are subject to Ptolemy... (Theoc. Id. 17. 85-92)<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>325</sup> Transl. Strootman 2014, 47.

<sup>326</sup> Strootman 2014, 47 and n. 46 notes that the list of territories in the encomium closely corresponds to those claimed by Cleopatra VII in the “Donations of Alexandria” (Dio Cass. 49.40.2 - 41.3, Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 54.3-6), though she additionally claimed inheritance of Seleucid territories as far as India (Dio Cass. 49.41.3).

Later in the same encomium Theocritus (perhaps reflecting on his own composition) highlights Philadelphos' generous benefactions towards performing artists and the praise they provide in exchange:

οὐδὲ Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ ἱεροὺς κατ' ἀγῶνας  
ἔκετ' ἐπιστάμενος λιγυρὰν ἀναμέλγει ἀοιδάν,  
ὃ οὐ δωτίναν ἀντάξιον ὥπασε τέχνας.  
Μουσάων δ' ὑποφῆται αἰείδοντι Πτολεμαῖον 115  
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας.

And no man who knows how to sing a clear voiced song comes to the sacred contests of Dionysos without receiving a gift worthy of his skill from Ptolemy in return. The poets of the muses sing of Ptolemy in return for his benevolence (Theoc. *Id.* 17.112-16)

Both Acosta-Hughes and Hunter have noted the striking hyperbaton in this passage between the genitive Διωνύσου and the accusative ἀγῶνας, which depends on the possessive (“contests...of Dionysos”).<sup>327</sup> As they note, this draws the reader’s attention to the juxtaposition of Διωνύσου with τις ἀνὴρ, which one would initially understand to mean a “certain man of Dionysos”, suggesting a *technitēs* from the Ptolemaic association of Dionysiac artists. The image of Philadelphos as a generous benefactor who recognizes the inherent value in the artistic contributions to his court recalls the appeal of Philip II’s court in Macedonia and the entourage of Alexander on campaign. Both rulers were noted by later authors for their lavish generosity towards performing artists.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Acosta-Hughes 2012, 392-3. Hunter 2010, 182.

<sup>328</sup> See Le Guen 2014 (Alexander) and Moloney 2014 (The Macedonian court).

The benefits afforded to artists in Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly successful ones, were notable. A passage of the *Dikaionmata*<sup>329</sup> grants exemptions from the dynasty's onerous salt tax to individuals belonging to particular professions in the "arts and letters":<sup>330</sup>

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζώϊλοι χαίρειν. ἀφείκαμ[εν] τοῦ[ς] τε διδασκάλους]  
 261 τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας [κ]αὶ τ[οὺς - ca.14 -]<sup>331</sup>  
 τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς νενικηκό[τ]ας τ[ὸν πενθετηρικὸν]<sup>332</sup>  
 ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ Βασίλεια καὶ τὰ Πτολε[μ]α[ῖ]α, κ[αθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς]  
 προστέταχεν, τοῦ ἄλλος τὸ τέλος αὐτοὺς τ[ε] καὶ [οἰκείους].<sup>333</sup>  
 265 ἔρρω[σο]. (ἔτους) [- ca.9 -] (*PHal* 1.260-5).

Apollonios to Zoilos, greetings. We have released the [teachers] of letters and gymnastics trainers and [performers of?] matters pertaining to Dionysos and those who have won the [Penteteric] contest and in the Basileia and Ptolemaia from the tax on salt, both them and their [households, as the king] has ordered. Farewell. Year —. (adapted from Bagnall & Derow 2004, 210).

Two details of the regulation suggest that members of the Ptolemaic association are indicated. First, τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον recalls the formula otherwise found in the associations' title (οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνισον τεχνῖται).<sup>334</sup> Second, the list of benefits for festival victors, in-

<sup>329</sup> Bagnall and Derow (2004, no. 124) date the document to the mid-third century. See Rice 1983, 54 who dates the document to the end of the reign of Philadelphos and notes a *terminus post quem* of 276 BCE; see also Fraser 1972 II, 870-1.

<sup>330</sup> On the Alexandrian salt tax, which was the only known *per capita* tax for Ptolemaic Egypt, see Carusi 2008, 214-22.

<sup>331</sup> Rice 1983, 54: τ[οὺς νέμοντας]

<sup>332</sup> BL 6.47 : τ[ὸν Ἀλεξάνδρειον].

<sup>333</sup> BL 3.75: ἐκγόνους

<sup>334</sup> The lacuna at the end of line 261 is difficult to restore beyond a plausible τ[οὺς] and a participle which would take the neuter τὰ as a direct object. The very general "matters pertaining to Dionysos" may refer to rites, perhaps including the processions that the artists took part in before the performances of a festival.

cluding those who won at the Alexandrian *Basileia* and *Ptolemaia*,<sup>335</sup> implies that the successful artists were given desirable privileges specifically through the court's patronage, which is a key element of the association's self-presentation in their surviving inscriptions.

Such financial benefits afforded to the victors speak to the political importance placed on artists and athletes who established a reputation for themselves in their craft.<sup>336</sup> As early as the Classical period, Athens similarly offered lifelong *sitēsis* (free dining at the prytaneion) for its own citizens who were victorious at any of the four periodic festivals.<sup>337</sup> As Pritchard has shown, such honors reflected and reciprocated the prestige bestowed on the community at large by the victors (whose accomplishments were analogous to victories over rivals in battle).<sup>338</sup> Analogously, the Ptolemies also extended relief from the salt tax to festival victors in order to attract them to Alexandria as a form of cultural capital that distinguished their kingdom from its rivals.

One of the greatest expressions of the Ptolemies' bid for cultural preeminence in the wider Mediterranean was the institution of a new penteteric festival by Ptolemy II

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<sup>335</sup> On these festivals in particular, see Fraser 1972, 231-2. For an overview of evidence for festivals in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see Perpillou-Thomas 1993.

<sup>336</sup> See van Nijf 2012 on the political value of athletic victors to city-states.

<sup>337</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 131 (ca 430 BCE) is the standard reference to this practice in Athens. Though fairly lacunose, it seems to grant *sitēsis* at the prytaneion for "all who have won at Olympia, at the Pythia, on the Isthmos or at Nemea" before further specifying equestrian victors in addition (11-18). Xenophanes famously describes the same privileges when distinguishing himself from athletic victors in the opening of F2, 1-11.

<sup>338</sup> Pritchard 2012, 209-10. Kurke 1993, focusing on the field of individual competition within the city, argues that they formed an "economy of *kudos*", which the city bestowed on victors (chiefly athletic and equestrian) who would then use their reputation in support of their city's military campaigns or other ventures. The two notions are not mutually exclusive.

Philadelphos. The *Ptolemaieia*,<sup>339</sup> which was organized as a celebration of Ptolemy I Soter and the Lagid dynasty as a whole, was one of the first festivals (other than perhaps the Olympic festival at Dion organized by Archelaos)<sup>340</sup> to be explicitly declared of equal rank with an established periodic festival.<sup>341</sup> The so-called Nikouria Decree (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390) passed by the League of Islanders around 280 BCE, preserves Philadelphos' appeal to the islanders and the Greek world at large:

...καὶ νῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 [Π]τολεμαῖος, διαδεξάμενος τῇμ βασιλείαν παρ[ὰ]  
 τοῦ πατρός, τὴν αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν  
 [π]αρεχόμενος διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς νησιώτας κα[ὶ]  
 20 τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, καὶ θυσίαμ ποιεῖ τῷ πατρ[ὶ]  
 καὶ ἄγωνα τίθησιν ἰσολύμπιον γυμνικὸν καὶ  
 μουσικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν, τὴν τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦ[ς] εὐ-  
 [σέβ]ειαν διαφυλάττωγ καὶ τῇμ πρὸς τοὺς π[ρογό]-  
 [νου]ς εὐνοίαν διατηρῶν, καὶ παρακαλεῖ εἰς ταῦτ[α]  
 25 [τού]ς τε νησιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ψ[η]-  
 [φίσα]σθαι τὸν ἄγωνα ὑπάρχειν ἰσολύμπιον...

...and now king Ptolemy [Philadelphos], having received the kingship from his father, offering the same favor and care extends it to both the Islanders and the other Greeks, and makes a sacrifice to his father and establishes an “isolympic” contest — gymnastic, musical, and equestrian — both preserving piety towards the gods and maintaining favor towards his ancestors; and he invites to these both the Islanders and the other Greeks and enjoins them to decree the festival to be “isolympic”.

<sup>339</sup> The festival was known as the *Ptolemaia* in literary and epigraphic documents and (typically) as the *Ptolemaieia* in papyrological sources. See Thompson 2000, 367 n. 4.

<sup>340</sup> Diod. 17.16.3; Arr. 1.1.1. See Bosworth 1980, 97 and Moloney 2014.

<sup>341</sup> Parker 2007, 15. This phenomenon led to a proliferation of festivals that were declared “isopythian”, “isonemean”, and “isolympic” (among other distinguishing titles) in the second and first centuries BCE (Chaniotis 2013, 23 and n. 184).

The cities and associations that accepted the festival as “isolympic”, which included the League of Islanders and the Delphic Amphictyony,<sup>342</sup> did more than just pay lip service to its perceived importance. Victors from communities that granted such elevated status to new festivals were given the same rewards that would be offered for winning at the older penteteric festivals, such as lifelong *sitēsis* in their hometowns.<sup>343</sup>

As with some of the festivals organized by Alexander during his campaign, the *Ptolemaieia* was also an occasion for important diplomatic meetings between the king and visiting delegates from the Greek world who traveled to his capital.<sup>344</sup> In the most famous example, the Athenian *theoros* Kallias of Sphettos successfully petitioned Philadelphos for ropes that would be tied to the *peplos* of Athena's cult statue at the Panathenaia.<sup>345</sup> In the same year, the Telmessian delegation petitioned Philadelphos to exempt their city from *dōrea* (“gift”) status.<sup>346</sup> In 250 BCE, Aratos of Sikyon used the occasion of the festival to procure 150 talents of silver as aid for his countrymen.<sup>347</sup> In addition to the penteteric festival at Alexandria, other local *Ptolemaia* festivals were instituted in the

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<sup>342</sup> *F.D.* III. 4.357 (260s BCE).

<sup>343</sup> Chaniotis 2011, 23 and n. 195, where he cites *IG* VII 1735 (late 3rd c. BCE), which explicitly ensures that Athenian victors at the *Mouseia* festival at Thespiiai would receive the same honors and privileges as those who won at the *Pythia*.

<sup>344</sup> See Hazzard 2000, 59-60. As I argue below, the *Ptolemaieia* seems to recall a specific festival held in Memphis in 332/1 BCE to celebrate Alexander's anointment as Pharaoh.

<sup>345</sup> *SEG* 29.102, 64-70. The date of this celebration of the *Ptolemaieia* is debated. Shear's initial study reckons that Kallias went to the *Ptolemaieia* of 279 based on a similar date for the Nikouria Decree (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390). Hazzard (2000, 70) reckons that Kallias went even earlier, in 282 BCE.

<sup>346</sup> *SEG* 29.1224. Cities that were given *dōrea* status were granted use of their land but not full ownership. See Meadows 2012, 118-121 for the Ptolemaic use of the term.

<sup>347</sup> *Plut. Vit. Arat.* 12.1 - 13.4.

third century BCE by the court's allies at Delos (where the League of Islanders effectively replaced the eponymous *Demetrieia* and *Antigoneia* festivals founded by the Ptolemies' Antigonid rivals) and at Athens.<sup>348</sup>

In all of this evidence, one can discern a twin strategy through which the Ptolemaic court used culture to solidify its political power at home and abroad. On the one hand, the collection of artists from throughout the Greek world, no less than the curation of texts, exotic animals, philosophers, and treasure, was both a function and expression of the Ptolemaic court's political reach. The immense wealth of the Ptolemies enabled them to recruit many great artists to their new capital, sometimes to the perceived detriment of other communities.<sup>349</sup> On the other hand, the international recognition of the Alexandrian *Ptolemaieia* as an “isolympic” festival legitimated the symbolic value of Ptolemaic acclaim in peripheral communities by equating a victory in the dynastic festival with one at one of the traditional periodic festivals.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> On the *Ptolemaia* at Delos and its replacement of the eponymous festivals for Demetrios and Antigonos, see Sifakis 1967, 15-18. *IG* XI 4.1038 (279-274 BCE) records honors from the Islanders to Sostratos of Knidos, one of the *philoï* in the Ptolemaic court (Strabo 17.1.6) which include crowning him on the occasion of the *Ptolemaia* on Delos. On the *Ptolemaia* at Athens (instituted in 224/3 BCE), see Habicht 1992, 83-4.

<sup>349</sup> Some insight to this tension can be seen in the fictional *Letters of the Courtesans* by the late second-century / early third century CE author Alciphron. In one of the letters, from the famous Athenian playwright Menander to his courtesan Glykera (IV.18), the poet claims to have received a letter from Ptolemy Soter inviting him to his court in Alexandria, promising him many goods “in a kingly fashion” (ἐδεξάμην ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου γράμματα, ἐν οἷς δεῖταιί μου πάσας δεήσεις καὶ προτρέπεται βασιλικῶς ὑπισχνούμενος τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον τοῦτο τὰ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ Φιλήμονα, IV.18.5). Menander then includes his response to Ptolemy, a refusal amounting to a lengthy panegyric for his traditional democratic homeland and its native festivals over the riches and largess of the famed court life at Alexandria (IV.18.8-17). Pliny the Elder (*NH* VII.31) also records that Menander was recruited by the Ptolemies. On the international reach of Ptolemaic patronage with similar invitations, see Fraser 1972 I, 308-312.

<sup>350</sup> See *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1080 (Tegea, 3rd c. BCE), listing the victories of a remarkably multitalented actor and athlete, which include the Athenian *Dionysia* and the Delphic *Soteria* (for acting) and the *Ptolemaieia* (for boxing).

This strategy, which can be summed up as the Ptolemaic exercise of “soft power”,<sup>351</sup> is consistent with the ways in which they and other successors to Alexander competitively displayed the range of their imperial dominion. As Strootman notes, the *Diadochoi*, following the example of earlier near eastern kings, expressed the reach of their power through the symbolism of monuments that they placed at the perceived geographical extremities of their territory while simultaneously accumulating images, flora, fauna, and human beings from their many territories in the imperial center.<sup>352</sup>

This is an especially useful model for assessing the political role of the Ptolemaic association. Within the imperial capital of Alexandria, its members contributed to the dynasty’s imperial display in the famous *pompē* of Philadelphos (Athen. 5.196a-203b). Led by the court poet Philiskos of Corcyra at the head of a section depicting Dionysos’ mythical conquest of India, the *technitai* were part of a nexus of symbolism that equated the military and cultural achievements of the Ptolemaic dynasty with those of Alexander the Great and Dionysos. The inscriptions of the artists’ activity in the further reaches of the Ptolemaic territories demonstrate that these branches of the association occupied an intermediary position between the court and the local political infrastructures of Ptolemaïs and Cyprus. More specifically, they functioned as an extension of the court’s political influence (by virtue of its euergetical connection to the royal cult) and as a means for

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<sup>351</sup> For an overview of Nye’s influential concept of “soft power”, through which one understands the use of culture and diplomacy in geopolitics as a means of influence through co-option rather than coercion, see Nye 2008 and 2009. Rosenstein 2012 applies this concept to systematically study the influence of the Republican Roman aristocracy both at home and abroad (13-14).

<sup>352</sup> Strootman 2014, 42. See Liverani 1979 for a similar view of the symbolic ideology of the Assyrian empire.



local elites to distinguish themselves in their communities through indirect royal patronage.<sup>353</sup> The artists, for their part, seem to have enjoyed an elevated status of their own as both recipients and conferrers of symbolic and financial capital.

Thus, the artists under the patronage of the Ptolemies could be seen as serving both mechanisms of Strootman's model. On the one hand, as a collection of talent from throughout the Greek world, they were an important part of the court's display of power in the capital along with the *Mouseion* and Library. On the other hand, as a political extension of the court itself to communities in Upper Egypt and Cyprus, the outer branches of the Ptolemaic association demarcated the reach of Ptolemaic culture and power by offering their services in performance and forming important euergetical relationships with local elites.

### **I.1. The Artists in Alexandria: The Procession of Philadelphos**

This section now turns to the famous *pompē* of Ptolemy II Philadelphos as described in Kallixeinos' *Peri Alexandrias*, the fragments of which are preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*.<sup>354</sup> The account describes an elaborate procession arranged by

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<sup>353</sup> In *OGIS* 51, for example, the Ptolemaic association honors Lysimachos, a *prytanis* for life in Ptolemais, with a crown and statue in return for his good favor (*eunoia*) toward the royal family (4-5).

<sup>354</sup> Athen. 5.196a-203b. The account is recalled by the dinner guest Masurius. Rice 1983 remains the standard full-length commentary and translation of the text.

Philadelphos<sup>355</sup> in honor of his deceased father, whom he celebrated as a god (*theos Soter*).<sup>356</sup> The exhaustive details of the occasion provided by Kallixeinos leave the reader with a vivid impression of the Ptolemies' immense wealth and power.<sup>357</sup> Elements of the parade include animals from far-flung territories under Ptolemaic control, tribute-bearers from India and Ethiopia, thrones, statues, and diadems for the deified Soter and Alexander, and individuals dressed to represent celestial bodies and Greek *poleis* from the *oikoumenē* which had been liberated from Persia.<sup>358</sup> The section that Kallixeinos describes in the most detail is the Dionysian section of the procession, which includes explicit nods to Alexander's eastern campaign in the section that Kallixeinos titles "the return of

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<sup>355</sup> For an exhaustive summary of the scholarship that attempts to secure a date for this procession, see Thompson 2000, 381-8. The historicity of the procession is generally unchallenged by scholars because Kallixeinos includes so much specific detail in his account, though it is important to retain some skepticism, as the procession is not corroborated by any external evidence, and some scholars have recently attributed Kallixeinos' description to a paradoxographical literary tradition that includes such details as part of a literary gambit that "sells" the veracity of the event to the reader in a manner reminiscent of magical realism in modern literature (Thompson 2000, 369 and n. 9). I am rather inclined to think that, even if one were to concede that the influence of the paradoxographical tradition can be detected in the work (which I do not think is able to be proven), substantial portions of Kallixeinos' description most likely reflect elements of an historical procession.

<sup>356</sup> The question of whether Ptolemy I was celebrated as *theos Sotēr* during his lifetime remains open. Diodoros (20.100.3-4) states that the Rhodians dedicated a *Ptolemaion* to him in 304 BCE for his help against Demetrios Poliorketes after the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in Siwah confirmed to them that he was to be honored as a *theos*. Pausanias (I.8.6), commenting on the statues of the Ptolemies set up near the Odeon of Perikles in Athens, specifies that the Rhodians gave Ptolemy the title *Soter*. Hazzard 1992 discredits Pausanias' claim based on the fact that neither Diodoros nor the contemporary records of the Rhodian priests at Lindos use the epithet. The League of Islanders similarly dedicated an altar at Delos to him along with honors as *theos Soter* for his help against Demetrios, but that is recorded in a document dating to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390, 28 and 48). In favor of dating this nomenclature to the reign of Ptolemy I, see Marquaille 2008, who notes that in the records of correspondence between Philadelphos and the League of Islanders (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390) and Miletos (*I.Milet.* III.169) emphasis is placed on the *continuity* of (established) honors towards Philadelphos as he received the kingship from his father.

<sup>357</sup> Kuttner 1999, 97 reckons this one of the longest descriptions in Greek literature.

<sup>358</sup> See in particular Hazzard 2000, 60-81

Dionysos from India” (τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδοῶν κάθοδον Διονύσου, Athen. 5.200d).<sup>359</sup> At the very head of this procession, in pride of place, marched the Ptolemaic association of *technītai*.

The imagery of the procession as a whole intended to present the Ptolemies as the rightful heirs of Alexander’s kingdom and, by extension, the entire *oikoumenē*, through a nexus of symbolism that correlated the royal cult of the Ptolemies with Alexander and their ancestral god, Dionysos. This may come as no surprise when one recalls that Ptolemy I Soter allegedly stole Alexander’s body and interred it at his new capital, where his successors built a large *sēma* to house his sarcophagus next to those of the Lagid royal line.<sup>360</sup> Dionysos, as a divine analogue to Alexander,<sup>361</sup> was an important figure for the self-fashioning and self-presentation of the dynasty. As satrap of Egypt, Ptolemy I Soter issued coins depicting Alexander wearing a Dionysian *mitra* in addition to the familiar *insignia* of Zeus-Ammon; later, as king, he issued coins depicting himself in the same guise.<sup>362</sup> When the island of Rhodes later proclaimed him a god, they first consulted the oracle of Zeus-Ammon at Siwah, the same one which famously proclaimed Alexander’s

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<sup>359</sup> Stewart (1993, 253-4) roughly divides the entire procession into eight parts: 1. The procession of the Morning Star (197d), 2. The procession “named after the parents of the kings” (197d), 3. The procession of Dionysos (197e-202a), 4. The processions of “Zeus and all the other gods” (202a), 5. The procession of Alexander (202a-f), 6. The parade of troops (202f-203a), 7. The culminating ceremony and dedications to the royal family (203a-b), 8. The procession of the Evening Star (203c).

<sup>360</sup> On the several ancient sources describing the theft of the body, see O’Connor 2009, 35-46. On the location of the *sēma/sōma* in Alexandria, which Strabo locates in a region which he calls *ta basileia* (17.1.8), see Fraser 1976 I, 14-16.

<sup>361</sup> This is especially seen in the later writings of Arrian, who explicitly associates Alexander’s campaign with Dionysos’ Indian conquest (e.g., *An.* 6.28.1).

<sup>362</sup> Hölbl 2001, 93. Fraser 1972 also notes a bronze bust of Dionysos from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore that apparently shows features resembling Soter (II, 349 n. 123). On Ptolemaic coinage that specifically added the *mitra* to the depictions of the kings in order to invoke Dionysos as a divine analogue to Alexander, see Stewart 1993, 238. The Seleukids did the same by portraying Alexander wearing a panther skin (*ibid.* figs. 115-116).

divinity.<sup>363</sup> Soter's descendants consequently emphasized the assimilation of Alexander and Dionysos as part of their ancestry and claim to power. After his victory in the Third Syrian War (246-1 BCE) Ptolemy III Euergetes dedicated an inscription at Adoulis in which he claims that his family was descended matrilineally from Dionysos before listing the territories reaching as far as Bactria that he both inherited from his father and gained from his conquest of Seleucid territories.<sup>364</sup> His successor, Ptolemy IV Philopator, introduced a new set of demotics for the Alexandrian population organized under a single tribe, 'Dionysias', with names from the god's mythical genealogy.<sup>365</sup> Both he and Ptolemy XII Auletes adopted the title of "New Dionysos" to showcase their zeal for the god's cult.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Diod. 20.100.3-4.

<sup>364</sup> *OGIS* 54. The descent from Dionysos is mentioned at lines 4-5. The territories listed as his conquests (lines 13-20) cover most of Asia as far as Bactria, indicating his claim of Seleucid territory. While there is plenty of reason to be skeptical of this rather boastful claim, the very fact that Euergetes would make this declaration of control over such a vast expanse of territory is in keeping with the expressions of broad territorial power made by his predecessors. Strootman (2014, 48) convincingly argues that Euergetes considered the Seleucid empire to be "spear-won land" (*doriktētos chōra*) by virtue of his victory in the war.

<sup>365</sup> Satyrus ap. Theoph. *Ad. Autol.* 2.7 = *FGrH* 631 F 1. Philopator specifically introduced eight demotics. These included four of Dionysos' sons: Θεοαντίς (Thoas), Σταφθλίς (Staphylos), Εὐανθεύς (Euanthes), Μαρωνεύς (Maron); one daughter: Δηϊανειρεύς (Deianeira); two wives: Ἀλθαϊεύς (Althaea), Ἀριαδνίς (Ariadne); and one father-in-law: Θεστιάς (Thestias). See Fraser 1972 I, 44 and n. 48.

<sup>366</sup> See Fraser 1976 I, 204. A papyrus document dated to the reign of Philopator (*BGU* 1211) records an edict ordering "those in the *chōra* who are officiating the initiation rites to Dionysos" (τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν τελούντα[ς] | τῶι Διονύσῳ, 1-2) to register their names with authorities at Alexandria, to provide records of the transfer of the *ιερά* to them going back three generations, and to provide a copy of the sacred writings sealed with their name. He is also alleged to have tattooed himself with an ivy leaf mark (*Etym. Mag.* s.v. Γάλλος), and according to Jewish legend decreed that Jews in Alexandria were to be branded with an ivy leaf mark after the Battle of Raphia as part of forcing Dionysian religion upon them (3 Macc. 2.29). A fragment of the poet Euphronios (p.176 Pow) calls the king "New Dionysos", a title confirmed by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 4.48). For the many documents referring to Ptolemy Auletes as "New Dionysos", see Fraser 1972 II 396 n. 438.

It is therefore appropriate, and particularly telling, that the *technītai* are given a prominent place in Kallixeinos' account. Following a figure dressed as the Morning Star and a section with the figures of Soter and Berenike (Athen. 5.197d), the Dionysian section of the procession began with a parade of Silenoi and satyrs carrying offerings around a gilded double-altar covered in ivy (197e-f).<sup>367</sup> After these came Silenoi dressed in purple cloaks, followed by a man dressed in tragic costume as the figure of *Eniautos* ("Cyclic Year"), a woman of equal height carrying a crown of persea and a palm, named *Penteteris* ("Five-yearly"), and four *Horai* ("Seasons") bearing fruit (197f-g).<sup>368</sup>

The figure of *Penteteris*, as Rice and others have noted, is particularly striking, and must have signaled that the festival occurred every fifth year (on inclusive reckoning), following the model of the four periodic festivals of mainland Greece. This interpretation is reinforced by Kallixeinos' attribution of the details of his description to the *graphai penteteridōn* in his précis of the procession<sup>369</sup> and the request of Philadelphos to the *koinon* of Islanders in the Nikouria Decree that the *Ptolemaieia* be recognized as "isolympic". Her symbolic connection with the native persea plant and a palm branch of Egypt suggests that she also served as an appropriation of the Egyptian goddess Seshet, who is typically depicted as carrying the same plants and was a marker of time in Egypt-

<sup>367</sup> Rice 1983 suggests that the double altar honored Dionysos and Alexander (48).

<sup>368</sup> The abstract figures of *Eniautos*, *Penteteris*, and *Horai* take the traditional place of *kanephoroi* ("basked carriers"), who would typically bear baskets of offerings (especially first-fruits) at the head of a procession, as they would have in other festivals like the Athenian *Dionysia* or *Pythaid* (Rice 1983, 49 and n. 41). This function explains why *Eniautos* and the four *Horai* carry a horn of Amaltheia and fruits, respectively.

<sup>369</sup> Athen. 5.197d: τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν εἴ τις εἰδέναι βούλεται, τὰς τῶν πεντετηρίδων γραφὰς λαμβάνων ἐπισκοπεῖτω. On the possible sources for Kallixeinos' description and what exactly is understood by *graphai penteteridōn*, see Rice 1983, 44-5 and Ch. 4.

ian religion.<sup>370</sup> These connections suggest that the festival's prestige was constructed in such a way as to resonate with a mixed audience of Greek and Egyptian viewers through the characteristic syncretism of Ptolemaic religious symbolism.

Immediately after the procession of the seasons, another chorus of satyrs follows before the artists make their grand entrance:

μεθ' οὗς ἐπορεύετο Φιλίσκος ὁ ποιητῆς ἱερεὺς ὦν Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται. τούτων δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐφέροντο Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα τοῖς τῶν ἀσλητῶν<sup>371</sup> χορηγοῖς, ὁ μὲν παιδικὸς ἐννέα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ πηχῶν δώδεκα ὁ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

After (the satyrs) marched the poet Philiskos, who was the priest of Dionysos, and all the Artists in the Entourage of Dionysos. Delphic tripods were carried right after them as prizes for the *choregoi* of the flautists. The one for the *choregos* of the boys' class was 13 1/2 feet tall, and the one for the *choregos* of the men was 18 feet tall. (transl. adapted from Rice 1983, 9)

The choregic tripods from Delphi most likely indicate that members of the association were victorious at the panhellenic Pythian games in the competitions for men's and boy's choruses. Their presence in the procession reinforced the prestige of the association at large, hence why they draw the attention of Kallixeinos.

The poet-priest Philiskos is one of the most prominent members of the procession. Other than the gods, the members of the royal family, and Alexander, he is the only individual that Kallixeinos mentions by name. He is also known to us as one of the members of the Alexandrian *Pleiad*, a group of seven tragic poets who were named after the seven

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<sup>370</sup> Stephens 2003, 245.

<sup>371</sup> The manuscript reading reads ἀσλητῶν ("athletes"), but was corrected by Robert 1938, 31 on the grounds that athletes (unlike *aulos* players) were never associated with *choregoi*, and the mistake could easily be explained as a simple scribal error. See Rice 1983, 57-8.

stars of the Pleiades constellation for their preeminence in their field,<sup>372</sup> though little survives of his work aside from scattered *testimonia*. The *Suda*, which calls him τραγικός καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διόνυσου ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Πτολεμαίου (*Suda* s.v. Φιλίσκος = *TrGF* 104 T1), attributes forty-two tragedies to him. A second entry for a Philiskos who wrote comedies (*TrGF* 89 T5), many of which focused on birth stories of the gods,<sup>373</sup> may or may not be the same individual.<sup>374</sup> As none of the *testimonia* preserve any of his verses, it is difficult to say much about his work. He seems mainly to have been credited as an innovator in hexameters and choriambes, and a “Philiscan” meter was named after him.<sup>375</sup>

Philiskos’ position as priest of Dionysos marks him very clearly as the leader of the *technitai* who immediately follow him.<sup>376</sup> The use of the familiar and formulaic title οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται further suggests that this group was the official Ptolemaic association known further from the epigraphical sources.<sup>377</sup> Scholarly explanations of their presence in the procession typically look no further than their participation in the musical and dramatic competitions that would have formed part of the celebration: the *Ptolemaieia*, like any other major pentetereic festival, must have required a large and

<sup>372</sup> Kotlinski-Toma 2014 fig. 2; Fraser 1972 I, 600-1 and 619-20.

<sup>373</sup> These include a *Birth of Zeus* (Διὸς γοναί), *Birth of Pan* (Πανὸς γοναί), *Birth of Hermes and Aphrodite* (Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γοναί), and *Birth of Artemis and Apollo* (Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος [γοναί] (*Suda* s.v.).

<sup>374</sup> Kotlinski-Toma includes both *testimonia* in her body of evidence for Philiskos, though acknowledges that “It seems very probable that already in ancient times he was confused with Philiscus of Aegina and perhaps a namesake who wrote comedies.” (2014, 71).

<sup>375</sup> See Kotlinski-Toma 2014 s.v. Philiscus T4 and T5.

<sup>376</sup> The *Soteria* participants lists at Delphi, for example, list a ἱερεὺς from the ranks of the *technitai* at the top of each year’s entry (see discussion of the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* in Chapter 2).

<sup>377</sup> Le Guen 2001 I, 346-7; Aneziri 2003, 110 and n. 496.

skilled group of artists.<sup>378</sup> The Ptolemaic court, as Rice (1983) argues, accordingly formed their own association through extensive ties of patronage in order to meet these demands.<sup>379</sup>

None of these arguments, however, consider the imagery that follows the *technitai* in the Dionysian portion of the procession, nor indeed do they consider what the artists contributed to the correlation between the Ptolemies, Alexander, and Dionysos in the procession. This is especially surprising given that Kallixeinos, who devotes so much attention to the Dionysian section of the procession, seems to have considered it important to provide his readers with the names of both the association and its leader, suggesting that they must have been an important component not only of the festival's *agōnes* but of the procession itself.

In order to understand why the *technitai* had a prominent place in this procession, then, it is necessary to consider the rest of the Dionysian tableaux that followed the artists. In it, the god's mythical return from his conquest in India is equated with the eastern campaign of Alexander the Great. Both Dionysos and Alexander are celebrated as ancestral figures to the Ptolemaic dynasty. As part of this crucial analogy and celebration, the Ptolemaic association of *technitai* recalled Alexander's famous entourage of

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<sup>378</sup> See esp. Rice 1983, 52-6; Le Guen 2001 I, 346; Aneziri, who generally restricts her discussion to the epigraphic corpus, does not discuss the text of Kallixeinos at much length (see 110-111 and n. 496 for her discussion of Philiskos and the implications for Kallixeinos' text for a relative chronology of the associations).

<sup>379</sup> Rice 1983, 52: "The very existence of the Guild of Artists of Dionysos in Egypt, which is well attested quite apart from the reference to it in the Grand Procession, proves that dramatic performances were popular enough for the artists to form themselves into a formal group, perhaps because of the professional and financial privileges." See also Le Guen 2001 I, 346 and Hazzard 2000 68-9.



renowned artists (the *Alexandrokolakes*) who had performed during at several festivals during the eastern campaign (see Chapter 1). More specifically, they recall the performance of his entourage during the king's anointment as pharaoh at Memphis in 332-1 BCE.

## **I.2. The Procession of Dionysos and the Conquest of the East**

The specter of Alexander and his campaign looms large in the part of the procession devoted exclusively to Dionysos that followed Philiskos and the artists.<sup>380</sup> Immediately after the *technītai*, a large statue of Dionysos pouring wine into a *karchēision*, surrounded by incense and dramatic masks, was attended by mixed groups of women in his train (198C-E). Kallixeinos identified them as Macedonian women called Mimallones, Bassarai, and Lydai.<sup>381</sup> This train effectively united the orgiastic cults known from Alexander's native

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<sup>380</sup> Fraser 1972 goes so far as to say that "...Alexander rather than the god is the true hero of the Indian section. (I, 202). Marquaille 2008, on the other hand, argues, "More than Alexander and besides Dionysos, it is Soter who is the true hero of the magnificent *pompe* in Alexandria." (54-5). I see no reason to privilege any of the figures over the other. The point, rather, seems to have been to extol all three figures (each of whom was celebrated as a god) and to co-identify their accomplishments.

<sup>381</sup> μετὰ δε ταύτας Μακέται αἱ καλούμεναι Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ Λυδαί (Athen. 5.198E).

Pella<sup>382</sup> and the eastern origins of Dionysos' entourage known from other sources (including Euripides' *Bacchae*).<sup>383</sup>

This eastern aspect of Alexander's campaign is emphasized subtly by the appearance of Nysa in the next tableau (198F). Her statue, which moved on its own (she apparently stood and poured a libation of milk), can be identified both as the mythical nurse of Dionysos and as the personified location of Nysa in India, which claimed to be the birthplace of Dionysos.<sup>384</sup> While the former makes a more obvious and immediate connection to the image in the procession (the figure is anthropomorphic), Rice (1983, 66) astutely observes that the procession features women dressed to represent the Greek *poleis* of Asia, Ionia, and the Islands (Athen.5.201E). It is therefore not farfetched to suppose that an anthropomorphic figure of 'Nysa' also symbolized the Bactrian city where Alexander and his troops encountered the birthplace of the god.<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Plut. *Alex* 2.5: ἕτερος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ὥς πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ τῇδε γυναῖκες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὔσαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες ἐπονυμίαν ἔχουσαι. His mother Olympias is said to have been an enthusiastic participant in the women's rites at the annual festival of Dionysos (Rice 1983, 83).

<sup>383</sup> In the opening monologue to the play, Dionysos declares that he has come to Thebes after leaving the lands of the Lydians and Phrygians (Eur. *Bacch.* 13) and, when addressing the chorus for the first time, calls them "you who left Tmolus, the bulwark of Lydia" (ἀλλ', ὃ λιποῦσαι Τμῶλον ἔρυμα Λυδίας, Eur. *Bacch.* 55), which the chorus echoes in the opening of their response (Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γᾶς / ἱερὸν Τμῶλον ἀμείψασα θαύζω, Eur. *Bacch.* 64-5). Pentheus, questioning others, learns of a rumor of a 'Lydian stranger' in his city (λέγουσι δ' ὥς τις εἰσελήλυθε ξένος, / γόης ἐπῳδὸς Λυδίας ἀπὸ χθονός, Eur. *Bacch.* 234). See *RE* s.v. 'Ly-dai'.

<sup>384</sup> Diod. Sic. 3.70.8 claims that Dionysos invented wine at Nysa in his youth.

<sup>385</sup> See Rice 1983, 67-8. According to Arrian, when Alexander and his army reached Nysa, the city sent a representative to ask him to spare them on the grounds that they were sacred to the god, offering as proof that they were the only place where ivy grew in India. Alexander allegedly granted them freedom and autonomy (*An.* 5.1.1-2.2).

Alexander's campaign was more clearly evoked in a section which Kallixeinos explicitly names "the Return of Dionysos from India" (τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν κάθοδον Διονύσου, Athen. 5.200d). The mythical theme of Dionysos' conquest was an important one in Ptolemaic art.<sup>386</sup> At the beginning of the "Return from India", an eighteen-foot statue of the god, dressed in purple and gold, reclined on top of an elephant decorated with gold and bearing a golden ivy crown around its neck. Dionysos held a golden *thyrsolongchon* ("thyrsos spear"), a weaponized form of his traditional staff.<sup>387</sup> The enormous train which followed him (200E-201C) included a somewhat carnivalesque depiction of his retinue. These included, *inter alia*, satyrs wearing bronze and silver armor and several ἄρματα (quadrigae) drawn by exotic animals (elephants, ostriches, hartebeest, etc.) and driven by children (boys dressed as charioteers, girls armed with shields and *thyrsoloncha* like

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<sup>386</sup> This is especially shown by an early third-century statue group dedicated at the *Serapeion* in Memphis, which depicts Dionysos seated on a panther and followed by a peacock, imagery that recalls Kallixeinos' description of the procession. See Kuttner 1999 fig. 4.

<sup>387</sup> Hazzard 2000 oddly considers Dionysos "the least martial of the Greek gods" in his overall interpretation of the procession as a justification for Philadelphos' absence from conflict in the late 260s BCE. This seems to be based on an extremely narrow understanding of the god's various attributes in different traditions of this period, to say nothing of the fact that it completely overlooks the Alexander-like aspect of the god's *aristeia* in the procession. Rice's analysis is more convincing: "Dionysos was a god who from early times was at home in military contexts. He and Silenos had participated in the primeval battle against the Giants (Eur. *Cyclops* 5ff) and in some cults at Thrace and Sparta Dionysos was endowed with warlike attributes. These associations were especially connected with Dionysos' exploits in the East. The Dionysos in the *Bacchae* of Euripides was portrayed as a god who had come from the East to conquer Greece (cf. lines 13-20) even as he had already conquered the eastern peoples. His route to Greece, the next 'unconquered land', could be seen as a triumphal procession from India..." (1983, 83).

Maenads).<sup>388</sup> These warriors were followed by carts that carried “Indian women and others dressed as spear-captives”,<sup>389</sup> spices, Ethiopian tribute-bearers (carrying ebony and ivory),<sup>390</sup> and a long list of animals from all corners of the Ptolemaic kingdom, with special emphasis on those from Asia and Africa.<sup>391</sup>

Following a scene depicting Dionysos’ flight to the altar of Rhea (200C), Kallixeinos describes a tableaux that directly ties the god’s mythical conquest of India to the political aspirations of Alexander and his Ptolemaic successors:

... Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀγάλματα ἐστεφανωμένα στεφάνοις κισσίνοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα τὸ παρεστὸς τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στέφανον εἶχεν ἐλαίας χρυσοῦν. καὶ Πρίαπος δ’ αὐτοῖς συμπαρήν ἔχων στέφανον κίσσινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ. Κόρινθος δ’ ἡ πόλις παρεστῶσα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐστεφάνωτο διαδήματι χρυσοῦ ... τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ ταύτῃ ἠκολούθουν γυναικες ἔχουσαι ἱμάτια πολυτελῇ καὶ κόσμον: προσηγορεύοντο δὲ πόλεις, αἳ τε ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας καὶ <αἱ> λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες ὅσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν: ἐφόρουν δὲ πᾶσαι στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. (Athen. 5. 201D)

<sup>388</sup> Stewart, who dismisses Rice’s commentary as taking Kallixeinos’ account too seriously (1993, 237 n. 26), calls this portion of the text a “parody of Alexander’s expedition rather than a model for it...the stuff of true carnival.” (238) While I do think a certain light-heartedness can be seen in the use of satyrs and children as stand-ins for the god’s military force, the parade of prisoners and tribute bearers that immediately follows shows that the god’s conquest (even if mythical) was anything but a joke. One could also note that the depiction of Dionysos’ Indian conquest at the Serapeion in Memphis includes a statue of a very young Dionysos seated on a panther, which may explain the choice of children for the procession (Kuttner 1999, fig. 4).

<sup>389</sup> γυναικες Ἰνδαί καὶ ἕτεραι κεκοσμημέναι ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι (201A).

<sup>390</sup> As Thompson notes, this element in particular seems to recall the expedition to Punt conducted by earlier Pharaohs, which involved an extraction of tribute from the native population according to the texts inscribed on the walls of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el Bahri (2000, 372). On the expedition to Punt as depicted at Hatshepsut’s temple, see Tyldesley 1998, esp.148.

<sup>391</sup> These included *inter al.* antelopes, ostriches, elephants, leopards, a giraffe, a rhinoceros, and camels (see Rice 1983, 86-95 for further discussion on the specific species and their identification). These possibly belonged to the zoo that Philadelphos constructed at Alexandria, which is mentioned in the memoirs of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (*FGrH* 234 F 2. See Fraser 1972 I, 515 and n. 181). Elephants, in particular, were an important component of the Ptolemaic military forces. They were trapped and imported from the Red Sea region (see Thompson 2008, 28) and Ptolemy III Euergetes boasts of his and his father’s ability to gather elephants from the “land of the Troglodytes and from Ethiopia” in the Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54, 15-16).

...[then followed] statues of Alexander and Ptolemy<sup>392</sup> crowned with ivy crowns made of gold. The statue of Arete standing beside Ptolemy had a golden crown of olive. Priapos too was present with them, having an ivy crown of gold. The city of Corinth, having stood by Ptolemy, was crowned with a golden diadem ... Women wearing very costly *himatia* and jewelry followed this cart. They were called *poleis*, those from Ionia and the rest of the Greek *poleis* situated in Asia and the Islands that were subdued by the Persians. All wore golden crowns.

The position of these figures immediately after the Indian conquest implies a symbolic connection between the conquering Dionysos, Alexander, and the Lagid dynasty. The crowns of ivy (the plant sacred to Dionysos) underscore this connection as they rest on the heads of both Ptolemy and Alexander.

There is little disagreement over the general meaning of the women dressed as liberated Greek *poleis* from Asia and the Aegean islands. Ptolemy Soter had proclaimed himself a champion of freedom and autonomy for Greek *poleis* in these regions and his son maintained this posture in his communications with Athens, the League of Islanders, and Miletos.<sup>393</sup> The implied message (the beneficial relationship between the Ptolemies and the Greeks) is unproblematic whether one dates the procession to the period of the

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<sup>392</sup> Presumably Ptolemy Soter based on the formation of his cult by Philadelphos in connection with the celebration of the *Ptolemaieia*.

<sup>393</sup> See Marquaille 2008, 55-6 for a discussion of the recurring motif of freedom and autonomy in the Ptolemies' communications with the Greek *poleis*. See, e.g., *SEG* 38.60.25-36 (the Athenian decree in honor of Kallias), *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 390, 11-15 (the Nikouria decree) and *I.Milet.* III.139 (Philadelphos' letter to Miletos). In 308 BCE, Soter took Corinth and Sikyon from Kratesipolis in his advance against Antigonos, which Diodoros interpreted as part of a larger plan to liberate the other Greek cities in order to gain their goodwill (Diod. 20.37.1-2).

Chremonidean War,<sup>394</sup> the First Syrian War,<sup>395</sup> or any other period in the early to mid-third century. The nature of this relationship is underscored by the presence of Priapos, who was popularly associated with wealth and fertility.<sup>396</sup> Finally, the prominence of Corinth hearkens back to the League of Corinth, organized by Philip II and later commanded by Alexander, which sought to unite the Greek *poleis* against the Persians.<sup>397</sup>

### **I.3. The *technitai* of Dionysos and Alexander: Echoes of Memphis**

The analogy of Dionysos' Indian conquest with Alexander's defeat of the Persian empire was an important component of Ptolemaic visual propaganda. In the *dromos* of the *Serapeion* in Memphis (modern Saqqara), next to the traditional palace where the Ptolemaic kings typically resided,<sup>398</sup> the Ptolemies erected a statue group that depicted Dionysos on

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<sup>394</sup> Hazzard 2000, based on his date of 262 BCE, suggests that Philadelphos, whose power was waning after suffering a scandal after his marriage to Arsinoe II and imposing heavier taxes to make up for losses in the war, used the procession as a last-ditch effort to gain influence over the Greek cities of the northern Aegean (66-75). See Marquaille 2008, 54 for arguments against.

<sup>395</sup> Elements from the territories of the Seleukid kingdom may be seen, for example, in the Indian war captives.

<sup>396</sup> Marquaille 2008, 57, citing *IG* XII.3.421.

<sup>397</sup> Rice 1983, 105 and Stewart 1993, 256-7. Marquaille 2008 seems to assume an antagonistic relationship between the figure of *Arete* and Corinth. She notes the former's conceptual relationship with *Homonoia* in Greek religion at the time. *Homonoia* was an important political motif in Philadelphos' diplomacy during the Chremonidean War. Hence: "Arete therefore expressed the spirit of Philadelphos' policy outside Egypt and the procession marked the reconciliation between Arete wearing an olive wreath and Corinth bearing a diadem." (58). I don't see why such a reconciliation with Corinth would be necessary at any time for Philadelphos. It is certainly conceivable that liberation from the Persians was a welcome message to the Egyptians as well, as they seem to have celebrated Alexander's defeat of Darius III and his forces (Diod. 17.49.2, Curt. 4.7.1-4).

<sup>398</sup> Hölbl 1999, 89.

a panther followed by a train of mythical and exotic animals.<sup>399</sup> The scene, derived from his mythical conquest, is familiar from Philadelphos' procession, in which a host of animals immediately followed the "Return of Dionysos from India".<sup>400</sup> The long-standing identification of Dionysos with Osiris in an Egyptian context allowed the message of authority to resonate with traditional Egyptian symbolism united under the ancestral figure of Alexander as Pharaoh.<sup>401</sup>

Given the importance of the connection between Dionysos and Alexander, it is necessary to consider the use of the *technitai* as part of this crucial analogy in the procession.<sup>402</sup> As mentioned above, Alexander famously courted an entourage of artists from throughout the Greek world for various impromptu festivals organized during his cam-

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<sup>399</sup> Kuttner 1999, fig. 4. Among the mythical animals are winged sphinxes, sirens, and a falcon with a bearded male's head crowned with the double crown symbolizing rule over Upper and Lower Egypt (Hölbl 1999, 282 and n. 133). A contemporary semi-circular exedra next to the dromos held statues of eleven famous Greek poets and philosophers from throughout the Greek world, possibly including members of the Ptolemaic dynasty. See Hölbl 1999, 281-3 and fig. 9.12. For the original publication of the statues, see Lauer and Picard 1955.

<sup>400</sup> Hölbl 1999, 283.

<sup>401</sup> Hdt. 2.42. See Goukowski 1981, 80 and n. 3; Stambaugh 1972, 53-5. Dunand 1984 rejects the connection with Osiris as a motivating factor for the Ptolemaic promotion of the god's cult. Instead, he understands it to be exclusively for the Greek population, pointing to the existence of the god's self-standing cult in the *chora* and at the capital and arguing that Kallixeinos' description of the procession "évoque un dieu dont l'apparence n'a vraiment rien d'égyptien...Le costume, les attributs, les objets rituels, tout cela est grec." (89). I think this skepticism, while well-founded, is based on an overly simplistic model for the diffusion of the Dionysian cult, in which the Ptolemies either chose the 'pure' Greek model or a syncretistic hybrid. While the Greek components of the procession are no doubt salient, particularly in the context of a penteteric festival, one should be mindful that Egyptian symbolism may be recognized (e.g., in the costumed figure of "Eniautos" as the Egyptian *Seshet*, or in the elements which recall the expedition to Punt) even if Kallixeinos does not explicitly draw them to his reader's attention. See Hölbl 1999, 289-293 and 309 on the Osiris-Dionysos assimilation under the Ptolemies, esp. under Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XII. The latter went by *Neos Dionysos* in his Greek title, while his Egyptian cartouche translated the title to 'Young Osiris' (Hölbl 1999, 283).

<sup>402</sup> This is chiefly where I think I depart from earlier assessments of the *technitai* in the procession. Dunand, while acknowledging the Ptolemaic strategy of identifying Alexander/Dionysos as an ancestral figure through the analogy of their respective conquests (1984, 90-91), nevertheless explains the presence of the *technitai* as merely indicative of the dramatic contests that would take place at the festival based on the choregic tripods that travelled with them (92).

paign. One of the most notable of these was held at the sanctuary of *Apis* at Memphis (near the later *Sarapeion* where the relief of Dionysos' Indian conquest was dedicated), following his anointment as Pharaoh. The details for the celebration are given by Arrian in two places in his account. In the first, he describes the sacrifice to *Apis* and notes that Alexander held a "gymnic and musical contest [for which] the most renowned artists from Greece came to him" (καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μουσικόν. ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, Arr. *An.* 3.1.4). In the second passage, Arrian provides additional details, noting that Alexander led a *pompē* with his troops before hosting gymnic and music games (ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πομπεύει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν, *ibid.* 3.4.5) before noting that Alexander hosted delegates from all of Greece at the celebration (*ibid.* 3.5.2).

Even from Arrian's brief summaries, the distinct parallels between Alexander's *pompē* and festival at Memphis and the *pompē* of Philadelphos to inaugurate the *Ptolemaieia* are very striking and were likely intentional. The combination of a military procession with musical and gymnic contests suggests that the later *pompē* was part of a program that reflected Alexander's coronation festival. Furthermore, the emphasis on the wide range of artists who participated in the festivals suggests the imperial ambitions of both Alexander and the Ptolemies with respect to the *oikoumenē*. The Ptolemaic court, as I have shown above, took pains to emphasize their ancestral connections with Alexander, and the institution of a new festival celebrating its royal cult in the new capital would



have made a fitting occasion to express these symbolic ties to their many subjects and allies.

The coronation of Alexander at Memphis set a powerful historical precedent for the procession of Philadelphos and its visual program. The established reputation of the *Ptolemaieia* on an international scale, and the presence of talent from throughout the Greek world, recalls the entourage of artists who attended the celebration in Memphis and other festivals hosted by Alexander.<sup>403</sup> Thus, in their formal attachment to a Dionysos of conquest and of the arts, the Ptolemaic *technitai* in the *pompē* formed an important symbolic link between the dynasty and the conquering Alexander. The cultural capital that the “*Alexandrolakes*” afforded to Alexander was yet another inheritance claimed by his Lagid successors.

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<sup>403</sup> For example: in his account of the Weddings at Susa, Chares of Mytilene (*FGrH* 125 F.4 = Athen. 12.538b-539a. cf. Ael. *VH* 8.7), provides an exhaustive list of twenty-four musicians and theatrical artists from Magna Graecia, mainland Greece, and Ionia who provided entertainment for Alexander’s guests at the ceremony. These include the famous actors Athenodoros and Thessalos, who performed at Alexander’s dramatic festival at Tyre (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1-2 and *Mor.* 334e).

## II. The *technītai* in the Ptolemaic Periphery: An Extension of the Court

The branches of the Ptolemaic association, who were chiefly responsible for organizing and performing in local dramatic festivals, served as a political and cultural extension of the royal court in Alexandria to its peripheral subjects. All of our epigraphic evidence for the association comes from two locations: Ptolemaïs-Hermaïou (modern El Manshah), the eponymous *polis* established by Ptolemy I *Sotēr* in Upper Egypt near the ancient Egyptian capital of Memphis, and Ptolemaic Cyprus. In each location, the artists formed important euergetical relationships with local elites, giving honors on behalf of the Lagid family and even adopting some of the political terminology of the court to designate important benefactors of the association for distinction in the local communities they served.

### II.1. The Artists in Upper Egypt

The artists who were active at Ptolemaïs-Hermaïou in Upper Egypt are known to us from two honorific inscriptions: *OGIS* 50 and 51 (Ep. Cat. 13 and 14, mid to late third century BCE).<sup>404</sup> The texts, which are fairly well preserved, were first published in 1885 after the *stelai* on which they were inscribed were found in use as a café table and a courtyard bench in El Menshah.<sup>405</sup> Despite the appearance of several names, including those of the

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<sup>404</sup> For the date of these inscriptions, see below p. 315 n. 576 (*OGIS* 50).

<sup>405</sup> Miller 1885, 131-141 nos. 1-2. See Le Guen 2001 I, 293 (TE 60 = *OGIS* 50) and 296 (TE 61 = *OGIS* 51) respectively on their later depositions.

honorands and a list of members of the association at the end of *OGIS* 51, the names are of no help in obtaining more precise dates.

Although we can only place the two inscriptions in the broad context of the mid to late third century BCE,<sup>406</sup> they nevertheless provide ample evidence for the activity and organization of the association at Ptolemaïs. The most striking feature of both inscriptions is the association's name. The adoption of the formulaic *οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον...τεχνῖται* associates the artists in Upper Egypt with the other regional associations and especially the group at Alexandria known from Philadelphos' procession.<sup>407</sup> Unlike the other regional associations active in the northern Aegean, however, the artists in Ptolemaïs distinguished themselves by their royal patronage: they are explicitly sacred to Dionysos *and* the ruler cult of the *theoi adelphoi*. This is especially important considering their activity in the city, which was one of only three Greek *poleis* recognized in Hellenistic Egypt along with Alexandria and the much older coastal colony of Naukratis.

Ptolemaïs-Hermaïou was founded by Ptolemy I Soter in Upper Egypt, where it replaced the Egyptian city of Thinis as a Greco-Macedonian counterpart to the older religious capital of Thebes.<sup>408</sup> Like most Greek *poleis*, it had standard institutions including a

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<sup>406</sup> Hölbl 1999, 325-9.

<sup>407</sup> Note that Kallixeinos uses the same formula to identify the *technitai* in the procession (Ath.V.197f).

<sup>408</sup> According to Strabo, the city was larger than Thebes and had a "political system in the Greek style" (σύστημα πολιτικὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τρόπῳ, 17.1.42). A second century CE inscription from Philae (*I.Philae* 166) refers to Ptolemy I Soter as the founder of the city. The exact date of its foundation is unknown. The only full-length study of the city is Plaumann 1910 and the site has never been extensively excavated. Ptolemy IV Philopator, at the end of the third century BCE, installed an eponymous cult and priesthood for his great-grandfather as the city's *ktistēs* (See Fraser 1972 II 369 n.240 for sources and discussion). For a summary of sources and archaeological evidence for Ptolemaïs along with bibliographical notes, see Cohen 2006, 350-2 and Fraser 1972 I, 42-3 and 98-100.

*boulē* and *ekklēsia*, and its government was run by six *prytaneis*, though the court at Alexandria retained some centralized control through supervisory bodies.<sup>409</sup> From *OGIS* 50 and 51, we learn that the city also had a theater and temple of Dionysos. The festivals which took place there, including the *Dionysia* mentioned in both inscriptions, seem to have been managed by important members of the association. Zopyros, whose name appears above the three columns that list the remaining members' names and professions in *OGIS* 51, is identified as ὁ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς τριετηρίδος καὶ / ἀμφιετηρίδος ("the one engaged with the rites of the triennial and annual festival", 27-8). This suggests that he had control over the rites and finances at the presumably annual *Dionysia*<sup>410</sup> and a more prestigious triennial festival that may have been dedicated to the ruler cult. This was probably comparable to the situation in late third-century Teos, where the Ionian-Hellaspontine *koinon* elected a panegyriarch who managed the collection of revenue and organized the city's security during their annual *panegyris*.<sup>411</sup>

In addition to running festivals, the artists fostered euergetical relationships with the leading citizens of Ptolemaïs. Both inscriptions record honors from the artists to two of the city's *prytaneis*, who had previously given benefits to them and the royal family. The recipient of an ivy crown in *OGIS* 50 is a certain Dionysios son of Musaios, a *pryta-*

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<sup>409</sup> Hölbl 1999, 27 and n. 88.

<sup>410</sup> Perpillou-Thomas (1993, 81-3) records only three documents that attest to the celebration of a *Dionysia* festival in Ptolemaic Egypt, two of which are *OGIS* 50 and 51. The third, a second-century BCE papyrus from Tebtunis (*P.Tebt.* III 887, 91), records a payment of four drachmas from an oil merchant to an *agoranomos*. Naukratis had celebrated a *Dionysia* since the Classical period and presumably continued to do so under Ptolemaic rule.

<sup>411</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4.

*nis* for life who was also honored with his fellow *prytaneis* by the city for suppressing a violent outburst in the assembly (*OGIS* 48). The recipient of honors in *OGIS* 51, Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios, is otherwise unattested in the epigraphic record, though his political successes seem to have been substantial, as he is identified both as a *prytanis* and as a *hipparchēs* (3).

*OGIS* 51 provides the most detailed insight into the inner workings and political status of the association in Ptolemaïs. The honorand of the decree, Lysimachos, is credited with the growth of the artists' *techniteuma* (11), a portmanteau of *technē* and *politeuma* that seems to indicate the relative independence of the association within Ptolemaïs, one that was assured by their artistic expertise. In the context of Hellenistic Egypt, the term analogizes the artists' association with other *politeumata* that were scattered throughout the Egyptian *chora*, including relatively autonomous communities of diaspora Jews and, perhaps even closer in similarity to the *technītai*, Greek mercenary forces.<sup>412</sup> The relative independence of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Teos, which owned its own property, abided by its own laws, and ran its own *panegyris* festival, may be taken as an even closer analog to the situation in Ptolemaïs. In Egypt, however, the association's independence was expressed through the adoption of a local political term, in such a way

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<sup>412</sup> In literary texts, the term typically means art(work), though the LSJ, citing this decree (the term is a *hapax* in the epigraphic corpus), prefers the relatively neutral translation "theatrical profession". As Le Guen notes (2001 I, 27-8), this seems to follow Bernand's translation of the term as "métier théâtral" (1992 II, 26 n.6). Lightfoot 2000, 223-24: "But [*techniteuma*] also recalls the special sense of *politeuma* to mean an (ethnically) distinctive group, such as jews or Greeks resident in the Egyptian countryside. The *technītai* are not this; yet they are a distinctive and separate community, and in Ptolemaic Egypt their Greekness, the Greekness of their games and festivals, was a matter for self-advertisement and separation from the indigenous Egyptians. The mobility of the community was another significant point, for mercenaries also constituted themselves into *politeumata*, and they, like the *technītai*, were one of the more conspicuous instances of a skilled, mobile work-force in the Hellenistic world."

that their independence within the Ptolemaic kingdom would be recognizable to other Greeks and Egyptians in the Thebaid.

*OGIS* 51 also provides us a substantial list of the names and professions of the membership in the association (27-47). To judge from this list, the administration of the Dionysian cult and theater life in the city seems to have been conducted exclusively by Greeks who had migrated from the mainland and elsewhere in the *oikoumene* to settle in the Nile valley.<sup>413</sup> Because the inscription does not include *ethnika* with the names of its membership, however, it is impossible to determine the geographical range from which the association in Ptolemaïs drew its membership, and the choice of Greek names in third century Egypt does not preclude the possibility of ethnic diversity in the association, as the archive of Dryton shows us with the use of Greek and Egyptian names by the Greek veteran's ethnically-mixed family.<sup>414</sup> Nevertheless, even if we cannot be sure of the ethnic makeup of the association, its activity was distinctly Greek in character, dedicated as it was to the popular cult of Dionysos and to the performance of tragedy and comedy, which were familiar forms of entertainment in other parts of the Greek world.

The profession of the *technitai* also seems to have run in families: Zopyros, the official in charge of the *Dionysia* and other festivals, has two brothers (Dionysios and Taurinos) who are also listed as members (Col. I, 29-30). The comic actor Asklepiodoros

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<sup>413</sup>A Hadrianic copy of an earlier Ptolemaic decree (*SEG* 20.665) refers to the introduction of new settlers to Ptolemaïs from the Peloponnese and Northern Greece (other areas may have been listed; the inscription is very lacunose) after its initial foundation.

<sup>414</sup> See Aneziri 2003, 240-1. On the use of Greek and Egyptian names by individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt as evidenced by Dryton's archive, see Rowlandson 1998, 106-112.

(Col. II, 35-36) is listed as the son of an Apollonios, possibly referring to one of the comic actors whose names appear above and below his own (Col. II 34, 37). The only other patronym occurs with the tragic synagonist Apollonides son of Archon (Col. II, 40). There is no other Apollonides on the surviving list, and the association did not see fit to distinguish the two comic actors named Apollonios, which suggests that this Archon may have been one of the names listed below where the inscription breaks off (perhaps as a *chorodidaskalos*).

In the context of the association, the members primarily identify themselves by their *technai*: poets and actors (divided by genre), musicians, a mask-maker,<sup>415</sup> and a chorus director. The presence of five *proxenoi* in the third column (34-9), however, further underscores the independence of the association, which apparently engaged in diplomatic relations with other communities at the level of a state or sanctuary, if they were to host visiting delegates. This was, in itself, not unusual for an association of *technitai*: five other inscriptions refer to their interactions with *proxenoi*, though all of these date to the second century BCE or later.<sup>416</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know whose interests these five individuals represented.

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<sup>415</sup> The meaning of the term σκευοποιός is ambiguous. The entry in *LSJ* translates the term loosely as “a maker of masks and other stage properties” (*LSJ* s.v.).

<sup>416</sup> Surprisingly, three of these come from Sicily, where the evidence for the associations of *technitai* is considerably less substantial than the *evidence* for the four major associations in the eastern Mediterranean: 1. A fragmentary inscription from Syracuse recording honors from a local association to a *proxenos* (*SEG* 34.974, 2nd-1st c. BCE). 2. A second inscription from Sicily records honors from a κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον | τεχνιτῶν καὶ προ<ξ>ένων (*IG* XIV 615, 6-7, 2nd-1st c. BCE). 3. A fragmentary inscription by the artists in the entourage of *Aphrodite Hilaria* at Syracuse honoring the proconsul Marcus Acilius Caninus as a *proxenos* in 46/5 BCE (Aneziri F4). 4. An honorific inscription from the Isthmian-Nemean artists to a *proxenos* (*IG* VII 2486, 2nd c. BCE). 5. An honorific inscription from the Isthmian-Nemean association for a *proxenos* and *euergetēs* at Olympia (*IvO* 405, 1st c. BCE). See Aneziri 2003, 218-29.

The five *proxenoi* are followed by a group of individuals identified as “friends of the *technitai*” (40-46). The term φιλοτεχνῖται, though clear enough to understand in its literal sense, does not appear in any inscriptions for the other associations, and so remains a somewhat puzzling feature in a roster of association members. Its general sense is understood to mean “benefactors” of the artists and may be part of the group referred to as τοῖς τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν (“those who manage the *synodos*”) in *OGIS* 50 (2-3).<sup>417</sup> Later inscriptions of the “ecumenical” association of artists under the Roman empire include decrees that conferred honorary membership to particularly generous donors. That may be the case here as well: the *philotechnitai* fall under the umbrella term κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, as their names are inscribed below the text of the decree along with the artists and *proxenoi* (see lines 14-15).

A fuller explanation for the term is likely provided by the political context of Ptolemaic Egypt. The term *philos* (“friend”) carried significant political weight in the kingdoms of Alexander’s successors, and especially for the Ptolemies. To be considered a “friend” of the king marked one as a member of an important semi-formal inner circle with privileged access to the royal court at Alexandria. At a more communal level, networks based on the traditional aristocratic notion of (*philo*)*xenia* formed important political connections between the kings and Greek communities, with *philo*i serving as important intermediaries between the two.<sup>418</sup> It is no coincidence that this local chapter of the

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<sup>417</sup> Aneziri 2003, 219 n.90; Le Guen 2001 I 299-300.

<sup>418</sup> See Strootman 2011, esp. 147-150, where he equates the term *philos* with the use of *xenos* (“guest-friend”) by the Seleukid court.



Artists of Dionysos used the same terminology as the royal court to designate a special status for members in its ranks who are not otherwise identified by any *technē*. In this sense, they may be understood as an extension of the royal court itself: to be a “friend” of the *technitai* indicated special access (at the local level in Ptolemaïs) to the inner circle of artists such that one could have his name inscribed publicly as a member of their *koinon*. By virtue of their administration of the Dionysian and royal cult, such status may have given their *philoï* access, by one remove, to the Ptolemaic royal family.

This political element of the association is confirmed by the language of the decrees. The fact that both inscriptions publicly honor life-long *prytaneis* at the *Dionysia* shows the political visibility and potency of the association. By administering the rites at the festivals, they assumed the duties once performed by the governments of classical *poleis*. Their connection with the royal family is shown (in addition to their title) by their conferring of honors to Lysimachos in return for his good favor (*eunoia*) toward the royal family (*OGIS* 50, 19-21). They therefore occupy an intermediary position between the royal court and the political infrastructure of Ptolemaïs, functioning as an extension of the court’s political influence (by virtue of the royal cult) and also as a means for local elites to distinguish themselves in the community through indirect royal patronage. The artists, for their part, seem to have enjoyed an elevated status of their own as both recipients and conferrers of this symbolic capital. This elevated status was expressed chiefly in their relative independence within Ptolemaïs as a *techniteuma* with *proxenoi*, symbolizing their broader connections to the wider *oikoumene*.

## II.2. The Ptolemaic Artists in Cyprus

The earliest inscription that references the Ptolemaic *technitai* on Cyprus (*SEG* 13.586) dates to 142 BCE. Between that date and those of *OGIS* 50 and 51, nearly a full century, there is a gap in our epigraphic evidence for the Ptolemaic artists. This is surprising given the considerable zeal for the cult of Dionysos shown by Ptolemy IV Philopator, the “New Dionysos” who reigned from 221 to 203 BCE. A single brief literary reference shows that the artists continued to be active at the royal court. According to Polybius, the general Tlepolemos, while ruling in the stead of the young Ptolemy V in 203 BCE, squandered a considerable sum of royal money on the artists and generals at the court (διερρίπει τὰ βασιλικά χρήματα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις, μάλιστα δε τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατιώταις, Polyb. 16.21.8-9). As Le Guen notes (2001 I, 348), the portrait drawn by Polybius is meant to exemplify the general’s poor administrative skills as a politician in contrast with his military expertise (16.21.5). In this vein, then, Tlepolemos’ largess for the artists illustrates his susceptibility to flattery, which echoes the old criticisms leveled towards Dionysian *technitai* by Aristotle in the fourth century.

There is no evidence for the activity of the Ptolemaic artists over the next half century, including the entire reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-145 BCE). Perhaps this is due to the greater turbulence of the period, which included the disastrous Sixth Syrian War that saw Antiochus IV briefly obtain control of Egypt from 170-168 BCE, following which the kingdom was divided between Philometor and his brother Ptolemy VIII Euer-

getes II (“Physkon”), who continually vied with one another for control of the remaining territory. When Physkon was proclaimed pharaoh in 145 BCE after the assassination of the younger Ptolemy VII, he allegedly expelled from Alexandria a number of intellectuals and artists associated with the Library, though it is impossible to know whether the *technitai* were among them.<sup>419</sup>

Even if they were not part of this specific expulsion, the artists of the Ptolemaic association felt the effects of the dynasty’s instability. By the mid-second century, the association appears to have been established on Cyprus by Physkon, who secured the island in opposition to his rivals in Alexandria.<sup>420</sup> From the beginning of his reign on Cyprus (142 BCE) until the beginning of the first century BCE, we have nine inscriptions by the artists, most of which are on statue bases dedicated by the association to prominent members of the local Cypriot elite (TABLE 4). It is difficult to know whether there was any formal relationship between the artists on Cyprus and those in Alexandria, though in some cases they announce their connection to the royal cult of the *theoi epiphaneis* (Physkon and Kleopatra III) and offer similar honors to local elites on behalf of the royal family.

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<sup>419</sup> Ath. 4.184b-c = Menekles of Barka *FGrHist* 270 = Andron of Alexandria *FGrHist* 246 F 1

<sup>420</sup> Aneziri 1994, 180.

Table 4: Dedications by the <i>technitai</i> on Cyprus					
No.	Inscription	Date (Aneziri 1994)	Association Name	Honoror	Honorand
1	SEG 13.586	142 BCE	[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ κ]ατὰ Πάφον γραμματε<ί>ω<ι> περ[ὶ τὸν Διόνυσον   καὶ θεοῦς Ἐπιφανεῖς(?) τεχ]νιτ<ῶ>ν (3-4)	The <i>koinon</i> of <i>technitai</i>	Theodoros, son of Seleukos
2	SEG 13.556	144-131 BCE	τὸ κοι[νὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ]   Κύπρον γραμματε[ί]ωι περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον]   τεχνιτῶν (3-5)	The <i>koinon</i> of <i>technitai</i>	Olympias, wife of Theodoros son of Seleukos
3	I. Salamis 5	142-116 BCE	[τὸ κ]ο[ινὸν] τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κύπρ[ον   γραμμα]τείωι περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον   [τε]χ[νι]τ[ῶν] (1-3)	The <i>koinon</i> of <i>technitai</i>	Nikagoras, son of Eupolemos Euesperites
4	I. Salamis 6	116-107/6 BCE	τὸ κοι[νὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κύπρον   γραμματε]ίωι περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σον τεχνιτῶν (3-6)	The <i>koinon</i> of <i>technitai</i>	Helenos, <i>strategos</i> of Cyprus
5	SEG 20.180	116-107/6 BCE	[τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐν τ]ῷ κατὰ Κύπρον γραμματείωι περὶ τὸν   [Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν] (2-3)	The <i>koinon</i> of <i>technitai</i>	Isidoros, son of Helenos
6	OGIS 163	116-107/6 BCE	τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον   περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν (3-4)	The <i>polis</i> of Paphians	Aristonike, daughter of Ammonios, wife of Aristokrates
7	OGIS 166	105/4 BCE	τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Εὐεργέ[τα]ς τεχνιτῶν (4-5)	The <i>polis</i> of Paphians	Kallippos, son of Kallippos
8	OGIS 164	105-88 BCE	τῶν περὶ τὸν   Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Εὐεργέ[τα]ς τεχνιτῶν (4-5)	The <i>koinon</i> of Kyprians	Potamon, son of Aigyptos
9	Aneziri 1994, no. 9	end of 2nd - beginning of 1st c. BCE	τῷ[ν πε]ρὶ τὸν [Διόνυσον   καὶ θε]οῦς Εὐεργέ[τα]ς τεχνιτῶν (2-3)	[?]ippos son of Stasikrates	Demokritos, and Kallistios, sons of [?]ippos

Of the nine inscriptions that refer to the Ptolemaic association on Cyprus, two (nos. 3-4) come from Salamis; the rest were found at Paphos. Eight consist of brief dedi-

cations on statue bases, the ninth (no. 5) being a short honorific decree from the artists to one of its honorary members. We are therefore only able to extract a limited amount of information about the association and its activity on the island, and we have no information about the group's involvement with local theatrical festivals. On the other hand, several agonistic inscriptions and material evidence in the form of terracotta figurines indicate a rich theatrical culture on Cyprus during this period, though none of these can be tied with any certainty to the activity of the *technitai*.<sup>421</sup> The inscriptions in TABLE 4 are chiefly interesting for two reasons: the changing name of the association in public documents and the identity of the elites to whom they dedicated statues on the island. TABLE 4 presents the inscriptions in chronological order based on the dating provided by Aneziri's study (1994) and includes the name used by the association in each inscription along with the honorer and honorand of each dedication and decree.

The earliest inscription (*SEG* 13.586, 142 BCE), a dedication on the statue base of Theodoros son of Seleukos, has been restored on the basis of the later inscriptions to read, “the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the *theoi epiphaneis* who are in the chapter in Paphos” ([τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ κ]ατὰ Πάφον γραμματε<ί>ω<ι> περ[ὶ τὸν Διόνυσον | καὶ θεοὺς Ἐπιφανεῖς(?) τεχ]νιτ<ῶ>ν, 3-4). Because Theodoros is not yet mentioned as a *strategos* of the island, an office he held beginning in 131 BCE, we have a fairly secure *terminus ante quem*, which situates this decree during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physkon on the island. Mitford therefore restores the cult of the *theoi Epiphaneis*

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<sup>421</sup> For a summary of this evidence, see Anastassiades 2010, 196 and nn. 12-15.

(i.e. Ptolemy V and Kleopatra I, the parents of Ptolemy VIII Physkon) in the association's title.<sup>422</sup>

The use of the term *grammateion* ("chapter" or "registry") to refer to the branch of artists is a unique one in the context of the *technitai* associations and may be influenced by the *grammateia* of cavalry and foot soldiers who also appear on the island around this time.<sup>423</sup> It implies that the artists' names were kept in some kind of registry, perhaps similar to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, whose members were referred to as "those registered in Ionia and the Hellespont" by the Delphic Amphictyony in the late third century (τοῖς ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου τοῖς ἐγγεγραμ(μ)ένοις, *F.D.* III.3.218 B, 237/6 BCE).

The specific reference to Paphos in this dedication suggests that the group was initially established in this city, before later dedications that record honors from "the *koinon*...in Cyprus" (e.g., τὸ κοι[νὸν...κατὰ] | Κύπρον, *SEG* 13.556, 3-4).<sup>424</sup> This may indicate that the group was quite new at the time when *SEG* 13.586 was inscribed, though

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<sup>422</sup> On the restoration of this inscription based on the ruler cult of the Ptolemies as they appear in Cypriot inscriptions, see Mitford 1959, 121 n. 93 and 125 n. 108; Aneziri 1994, 181-3; and Le Guen 2001 I, 302-3. Peristianis 1923 reads the line as κ]ατὰ Πάφον γραμματέων; Seyrig 1927 reads [κατὰ τὴν νῆσ?]ον γραμματέων ἐπ[ιστάτην ?]. Because Theodoros is not yet mentioned as a *strategos* of the island, an office he held beginning in 131 BCE, we have a fairly secure *terminus ante quem*, which situates this decree during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physkon on the island. Mitford therefore restores the cult of the *theoi* Epiphaneis (i.e. Ptolemy V and Kleopatra I, the parents of Ptolemy VIII Physkon) in the association's title.

<sup>423</sup> Aneziri 1994, 183 n. 16 and Mitford 1953, 138 no. 11 (= *OGIS* 155).

<sup>424</sup> Le Guen 2001 I, 302. It is interesting to consider, in this light, some of the finds from the recent excavations at the theater of Nea Paphos, which include a fragment of an Egyptian relief sculpture carved in black granite that was found near the theater's western analemma wall. It is possible that this "black hand", found in a Hellenistic stratum, formed part of the theater's decoration at a point of entry for the audience and actors alike (on the black hand and the excavations in general, see the excavation's website at [www.paphostheatre.org](http://www.paphostheatre.org) and Green, Barker, and Stennet 2015).

if they were, they were already well-connected with established political figures. The honorand of the decree, Theodoros son of Seleukos, is known from written sources as one of the “first friends” (*protoi philoi*) of Ptolemy VIII Physkon, and his father Seleukos served as *stratēgos* of the island during the period 144-131 BCE.<sup>425</sup> Thus, the artists from an early stage showcased their connections to the island’s elite by virtue of their patronage with the royal court, if the restoration of *theoi epiphaneis* is correct in line 4.

In the context of Ptolemy VIII Physkon’s rivalry with Ptolemy VI Philometor, who continued to reign at Alexandria with Kleopatra II, this celebration of the family’s divine ancestry in the title of the association suggests that the artists’ activity was implicitly tied to Physkon’s dynastic ambitions on the island. This is underscored by the fact that the artists substituted Physkon’s own ruler cult to their title upon the king’s death, styling themselves as “the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the *theoi Euergetai*” in the late second century BCE (e.g., *OGIS* 164, 4-5: τῶν περὶ τὸν | Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν). This change also seems to indicate that Physkon’s son, Ptolemy IX Soter II, actively maintained a political interest in the artists by celebrating his father’s divinity in the association’s title.<sup>426</sup>

As with the artists in Upper Egypt, the Ptolemaic association in Cyprus maintained important public euergetical relationships with the leading political elites of Cyprus as well as their families. The honorands of the *technitai* were all part of an elite

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<sup>425</sup> Anastassiades 2010, 196.

<sup>426</sup> Anastassiades 2010, 201.

inner circle connected to the court of Ptolemy VIII Physkon and his successors. Two of the individuals honored by the *technitai*, Theodoros, son of Seleukos (*SEG* 13.586, 142 BCE), and Helenos (*I.Salamis* 6, 116-107/6 BCE), served as *strategoi* (“generals”, or more appropriately, “governors”), the highest political office on the island after the king himself.<sup>427</sup> Their families also received honors from the association: Theodoros’ wife, Olympias, is given a statue by the association, which seems to suggest her personal interest and investment in the group, and Helenos’ son, Isodoros, who is honored for his generosity towards the island’s archons (6-7), is known from another document to have been a συγγενῆς καὶ ἀρχεδέατρος (“kinsman and *archedeatros*”)<sup>428</sup> for Ptolemy X Alexander I (*OGIS* 181, 114-107/6 BCE). The artists also seemed to have established close ties with the king himself. One of the association's members, the dithyrambic poet Nikagoras, son of Eupolemos, is identified as one of the “first friends” of the king himself (*I.Salamis* 5, line 4, 142-116 BCE: τ[ὼν] πρώτων φίλων).

Membership in the association was in itself a mark of distinction in the local community and even within the inner circle of the royal court. Potamon, son of Aigyptos, the honorand of *OGIS* 164 (105-88 BCE), was also a prominent member of the Ptolemaic administration, serving as the gymnasiarch in Paphos, as *hagētōr* (“head of sacrifices”) for the cult of Aphodite at Paphos, and was named by the *polis* of the Paphians as an

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<sup>427</sup> On the career of Theodoros, see Mitford 1953 and Anastassiades 2010, 196. For an overview of the decorated career of Helenos, who was also a kinsman (*suggenēs*) and feeder (*tropheus*) of Ptolemy X Alexander I, see Mitford 1959.

<sup>428</sup> The term ἀρχεδέατρος is difficult to translate, but seems to imply some connection with food and banqueting in the court. See *LSJ* s.v., which translates the term as “chief seneschal”.



honorary member of the artists' association (3-6).<sup>429</sup> Aristokrates, the father of Aristonike, who is honored by the *polis* of the Paphians in *OGIS* 163 (116-107/6 BCE), is identified as an annalist and "kinsman" for the royal family, as well as a member of the *koinon* of *technitai* (3-4). Similarly, Kallippos, son of Kallippos, a former archon, gymnasiarch, and secretary of Paphos, is also honored by his city and identified as a member of the association (*OGIS* 166). Little can be said about the final fragmentary dedication, inscribed on a statue base by an unidentifiable "[?ip]pos, son of Stasikratos" for his children Demokritos and Kallistios. It is notable that he, too, is listed as a member of the association (Aneziri 1994 no. 9, 2-3), and may have honored his sons for their participation, or victory, in a contest of the children's dithyrambic chorus, though that is entirely speculative.

The honors made by the *technitai* and their receipt honors made by the city of Paphos for its leading citizens suggests that the association had made considerable inroads into the inner political circles of the Cypriot elite. Distinction as a member or benefactor of the association could earn one a statue and public commemoration, and membership was advertised on the level of other prestigious titles, such as gymnasiarch, kinsman, or "first friend" of the king. This recalls the prestige that was attached to the *philotechnitai* of *OGIS* 51, who were likely honorary members and benefactors of the association in Upper Egypt and who may have obtained closer access to the royal family through artistic patronage.

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<sup>429</sup> On Potamon's political career, see *OGIS* 165 and discussion by Mitford 1961, 39.

### III. Summary

The most defining feature of the Ptolemaic association was its attachment to the royal cult of the Lagid dynasty, which from an early period in their reign sought to establish a new cultural capital at Alexandria that would rival traditional centers at Athens and that would implicitly stake their political claim to the territory of Alexander's conquests. This was most vividly expressed in the famous procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, which co-identified the mythical conquests of Dionysos with the eastern campaign of Alexander, and in the creation of a new isolympic festival, the *Ptolemaieia*, which served as the occasion for the procession itself. At the head of part of the procession depicting the return of Dionysos from his mythical conquest in India was the Ptolemaic association of *technitai*, whose membership was drawn, like much of the talent that flocked to the *Mouseion* and Library at Alexandria, from throughout the Greek world. Thus, from its outset, the Ptolemaic association served as a demonstration of the court's cultural, political, and financial appeal to successful artists, who received exemption from Alexandria's salt tax along with other cultural professionals from abroad.

Outside of Alexandria, the association served as an important extension of the court itself by giving honors to local elites who were benefactors of both the artists and the royal family. The artists in Upper Egypt and Cyprus were thus situated at an intermediary position between the ruling monarchs and the elite of their outer communities who sought to distinguish themselves as patrons of the arts by giving benefactions to the associations and becoming honorary members. These honorary members, in the case of Upper

Egypt, were publicly declared “friends” of the association (*philotechnitai*), a term that it adopted from the political vocabulary of the royal court itself to distinguish its inner circle. The artists, for their part, seemed to have enjoyed a special status within the community, which was most vividly expressed when they referred to their group as a *technīteuma* in *OGIS* 51. The term, a portmanteau of *technē* and *politeuma*, signalled the group’s relative autonomy on the model of other *politeumata* that existed in the Egyptian *chora*.

The activity of the association on Cyprus reflects the political instability attested in the Lagid dynasty during the mid-second century BCE. The establishment of a second court on the island by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physkon) included the introduction of the association to the island, where the artists quickly integrated themselves among the local elite. The recipients of statues and other honors from the artists include an impressive array of figures who were closely tied to the inner circle of Ptolemy VIII and his successors, and other honorific decrees from the local assembly of Paphos show that membership in the association was popularly held as a legitimate marker of importance and distinction for local elites. Thus, the Dionysiac artists of the Ptolemaic association served both to reinforce the cosmopolitan appeal of Alexandria itself and to legitimate the court culturally to its peripheral subjects.

#### **Chapter 4: The Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon***

The Ionian-Hellespontine association of artists is the most well-attested epigraphically of all four regional associations, with around twenty inscriptions counted by Le Guen and Aneziri.<sup>430</sup> In addition, we have scattered literary testimonia to the history of this particular association and their political dealings with the Seleukid and Attalid courts as well as the city of Teos where their early headquarters were located.

In the complex geopolitical alignments of Ionia and the Hellespont during the Hellenistic period, the activity of their *koinon* of artists at times resembles that of the other three associations. Attention has already been drawn to the system of collaboration that was evident between the Ionian-Hellespontine and Isthmian-Nemean *koina*, by which Ionian artists performed at mainland festivals such as the *Sotēria* at Delphi, the *Mouseia* at Thespiiai, and the *Agrionia* at Thebes as early as the third century (Ch. 2). Their close relationship with the city of Teos, which actively sought guarantees of *asylia* from kings, city-states and sanctuaries throughout the Greek world with the help of the artists, resembles the close relationship between the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* and the aims of Athenian foreign policy in promoting the city's culture as a form of its soft power. Finally, like the Ptolemaic association of artists, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* attracted the patronage of the successor kings, eventually forming in the early second

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<sup>430</sup> Aneziri 2003, D1 - D19; Le Guen 2001 I, TE 38-59.

century BCE a larger association with explicit cultural ties to the cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* (“the Ruler”) that was closely tied to the Attalid court at Pergamon.

These shifts in the political ties and activity of the *koinon* over the course of the third and second centuries BCE are best explained against the backdrop of the turbulent history of Asia Minor during that period. Thus, this chapter is organized chronologically into the three sections. It focuses first on the network of collaboration between the Ionian-Hellespontine and Isthmian-Nemean *koina* and points to where the Ionian artists offer the benefits of this larger network to two local festivals in the mid to late third century BCE: the *Leukophryeneia* at Magnesia on the Maeander and the *Dionysia* at Iasos. The second section traces the history of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*’s residency at Teos beginning at the end of the third century BCE in order to demonstrate that their presence and participation in the city’s cultural life in connection to the cult of Dionysos was essential to the city’s international appeals for *asylia*. The third section highlights the royal patronage of the Ionian association by the Seleukid and Attalid courts in the early second century BCE, which culminated in the expansion of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to include an explicit connection to the Attalid cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* after the Peace of Apameia in 188 BCE. The chapter then turns to the political fallout between Teos and the artists, as recorded in a letter from Eumenes II (ca. 170-158 BCE) that proposes a synoikism of the city and the association. This conflict stemmed from the incompatibility of the *koinon*’s political autonomy with Teos’ proprietary claims to festival revenue and the administration during the annual *panegyris* that was organized by the *koinon*.

The emergence of Roman political control in the East was an important watershed in the history of the Ionian-Hellespontine association, as it was for the mainland associations. In this shifting political landscape, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* had to negotiate with a new political hegemony in order to secure its place in the cultural network it had worked so hard for over a century to develop. I pick up this thread, along with those from the previous chapters, in the Epilogue by looking to the figure of Sulla, whose conquest in the East brought him in contact with each of the major associations in the northern Aegean and anticipated the consolidation of the regional *koina* into a single ecumenical association based in Rome.

## I. Collaboration and Networking: The Ionian *koinon* and Ionian Festivals

The earliest inscription that attests to the Ionian-Hellespontine association is a fragment of a decree of the Aitolians found in Delphi that guarantees *asylia* for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai*, offering the same terms that were previously granted to the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (*F.D.* III.3.218 B, 6-8, ca. 237/6 BCE).<sup>431</sup>

...ἔδοξε [τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ἀπο]δόμεν τοῖς τεχνίταις τάν  
[τε ἀσφάλεια]ν καὶ τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἰ[ωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπό]ντου τοῖς  
ἐνγεγραμ(μ)ένοις, κα-  
[θῶς καὶ τοῖς] εἰς Ἴθμον καὶ Νεμέαν συνπ[ορευομένοις].

...It was resolved by [the Aitolians to] give [both *asphalei*]a and *asylia* to the *technitai* who are registered in I[onia and the Hellespo]nt, ju[st as the one]s who trave[l together] to Isthmos and Nemea.

As with the other three associations in this study, we have no evidence for the formation of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, though on current evidence it appears that the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* was formed some time before the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*. The decree of the Aitolians suggests that the protections extended previously to the mainland artists provided the model for those extended to their colleagues from the east.

Other epigraphical evidence shows that the two associations had a history of collaboration, particularly in the second century BCE. In 146 BCE, Mummius granted honors to both *koina* in two letters that were inscribed on a single stone in Thebes (*IG* VII 2413-2414). Sometime later in the second century BCE, The Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*

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<sup>431</sup> Greek text taken from Le Guen 2001 TE 38, 6-7. The date for this text is based on the Aitolian *stratēgos* Lykopolos, named in line 5, who holds the office for the fourth time. See Lefèvre 1995, 161-208 for further discussion of the dating of this and other decrees from third century Delphi.

honored Kraton, son of Zotichos, a prominent member of the Ionian-Hellespontine association whose decorated career is discussed later in this chapter (*CIG* 3068 C).<sup>432</sup>

Some other clues to the early history may be found on the same stele on which the Aitolians published the grant of protections to the Ionian artists. The other side of the stone is inscribed with decrees of the Amphictyony and the *polis* of Delphi honoring the Chian *hieromnemon* Timokrates. It is only possible to speculate, but this Timokrates may have petitioned for the recognition and protection of the Ionian-Hellespontine artists judging from the appearance of his honors on the same stone.<sup>433</sup> The Aitolian-controlled Amphictyonic council had granted the Chians a vote on the Amphictyonic council sometime in the mid-third century, and it is possible that the island was an early home of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai*.<sup>434</sup> Regardless of whether Timokrates or Chios were instrumental to the artists obtaining this protection, the decree of the Aitolians was pivotal to the *koinon*'s growth and success in the late third and second centuries BCE. When Teos later obtained *asylia* from the Aitolians, the Amphictyony, and Delphi at the end of the third century BCE, their decrees refer to protections previously issued to the *technitai* as the basis for the guarantees they offered to the *polis*.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Their collaboration extended from 237/6 - 146 BCE, and seems to have reached back earlier to the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* in the 260s BCE.

<sup>433</sup> Klaffenbach 1914, 76. See also Le Guen 2001 I, 200-201.

<sup>434</sup> For the Aitolians' inclusion of Chios on the Amphictyonic council in the mid-third century, see Nachtergael 1977, 279-281 and Derow and Forrest 2014, 260 and n. 17.

<sup>435</sup> Specifically, the protections cite "the law of the Aitolians for the Dionysiac *technitai*" (τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις ὁ νόμος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, Rigsby 1997, no. 132, lines 15-16, presumably in reference to the protections listed in *F.D.* III.3.218 B (Strang 2007, 248).



### **I.1.The Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* and the *Leukophryeneia* at Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 54 and 89)**

Much like the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, the Ionian-Hellespontine artists offered to promote local festivals so that they could obtain greater panhellenic recognition. This is most clearly demonstrated in two decrees recording their acceptance of the newly-reformed *Leukophryeneia* at Magnesia on the Maeander as a crowned festival at the end of the third century. The festival, held in honor of the local Artemis Leukophryene ("of the white brow"), was reformed into a triple contest (gymnic, hippic, and musical) by the Magnesians in the late third century following an epiphany of the goddess and in accordance with the Delphic oracle. The Magnesians recorded the history of this festival's promotion in a single decree (*I. Magnesia* 16), which they inscribed on the perimeter walls of their city's *agora* along with over one-hundred sixty decrees and letters from cities, kings, and sanctuaries recognizing the *asylia* of their territory.<sup>436</sup>

The Magnesians initially petitioned the Greeks of Asia for *asylia* in recognition of a new chrematic contest in 221/0 BCE, following an initial epiphany of Artemis and after consulting Apollo's oracle at Delphi. The effort was largely unsuccessful, as the Magne-

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<sup>436</sup> For a summary of these documents with discussion, see Rigsby 1997, nos. 179-185, who estimates that there may have been as many as one hundred decrees on the walls of the *agora* at one time, making it the largest dossier of *asylia* inscriptions in the Greek world. The responses granting *asylia* range from Sicily to Iran (see no. 180). See also Slater and Summa 2006 for a discussion of *I. Magnesia* 16 in connection with the phenomenon of crowned festivals and their acceptance in the Hellenistic period.

sians themselves acknowledged.<sup>437</sup> Only one inscription records an affirmation of *asylia*, issued by the Aitolians, from this earlier effort.<sup>438</sup> In 208 BCE, the Magnesians reformed the festival into a crowned, penteteric, and isopythian competition and once again sought guarantees of *asylia*, though this time they expanded their efforts throughout the Greek world.<sup>439</sup> Though we do not have the original text of the petition that was sent with their *theoroi* to other communities, it seems to have highlighted the Magnesians' aid against Brennus and the Gauls in 279, as well as the city's mediation of a civil war on Crete.<sup>440</sup> At least twenty groups of *theoroi* were dispatched in the spring of 208 with the hope of holding the first crowned games in the following spring, in the month Artemision.<sup>441</sup> According to the Magnesians, the city's inviolability and the status of the reformed *Leukophryeneia* were affirmed by all of the cities and kings whom they petitioned, which may in fact have occurred through incremental progress.<sup>442</sup>

<sup>437</sup> *I.Magnesia* 16 = Rigsby 1997, no. 66, 24 (ὥς δὲ ἐπιβ[α]λόμενοι παρηλκύσθησ[αν...], "Thus, undertaking this (the promotion of the chrematic festival), they (the Magnesians) were rebuffed...."). See Rigsby 1997, 188, n. 24 for his restoration of the line, which is accepted and defended by Slater and Summa (2006, 276).

<sup>438</sup> Rigsby 1997, no. 67 = *SEG* 18.246 = *I.Magnesia* pp. xiv-xv. The decree, copies of which survive from Thermos and Delphi but not from Magnesia, recognizes the *asylia* of the city but makes no mention of the games.

<sup>439</sup> In this second effort, the petition urged that the oracle called for Magnesia and the surrounding country to be granted *asylia* while the games were to be recognized as crowned and isopythian. See Rigsby 1997 no. 102, 33-5; no. 105, 7-16; no. 120, 28-33.

<sup>440</sup> In addition, the *theoroi* apparently brought documents attesting to their city's illustrious (if exaggerated) history, including the city's foundation and an apparently forged decree from the Cretan *koinon* that purported to show their assistance to the Magnesians who emigrated from the mainland to Asia Minor. See Rigsby 1997, 181 and n. 9.

<sup>441</sup> Rigsby 1997 181 n. 9

<sup>442</sup> *I.Magnesia* 16, 30-2. Rigsby notes a few instances in which the games were recognized, but not the *asylia* of Magnesia (1997, 182). There is room for skepticism at such a bold claim, but we have no secure evidence for any rejection of the games or of Magnesia's inviolability. Such rejections, in any case, would not have made it on the walls of the *agora*.

In addition to the many cities and kings throughout the Greek world, the Magnesians dispatched a group of *theoroi* specifically to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai* at Teos, whose response survives among the dossier inscribed in the *agora* at Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 54 [Ep. Cat. 15], 208 BCE).<sup>443</sup> The text, though badly damaged, preserves a standard acceptance of the *Leukophryeneia* festival and Magnesia's bid for *asylia* in lines 22-40. As Rigsby notes, this response by the artists, which is marked by fairly typical language of honorific decrees including the announcement of a resolution reached by an assembly (δεδό[χθαι], 22), presents the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* as a state-like entity whose acceptance of the festival was desirable.

The artists' acceptance of the festival relies — one might go so far as to say that it is stipulated — on a clearly-defined and negotiated system of exchange between their association and the Magnesian government. The artists stipulate two announcements of honorific crowns for the Magnesians: one at their own *panegyris*, which was held at Teos (31-3), and the other at the gymnic contest of the *Leukophryeneia* (33-4). Thus, in exchange for accepting the *Leukophryeneia* as a crowned festival, they sought to raise the prestige of their own festival by ensuring the attendance of Magnesian *theoroi* at their own festival. Importantly, the *theoroi* who visited the *technitai* are different from those who visited Clazomenai, whose vote to recognize the festival and the inviolability of Magnesia bound Teos to accept it as well (Rigsby 1997, no. 102.). This suggests that the

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<sup>443</sup> *I.Magnesia* 54 = Rigsby 1997, no. 103 (207/6 or 206/5 BCE).

Artists received the special (and expected) attention from the Magnesians and were considered a distinct political entity from the *polis* of Teos.

We might imagine that one of the benefits of soliciting the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*'s acceptance of the new festival was their established network with other artists from the rest of the Greek world, on whom they could draw to supply talent for the festival itself. The same network allowed Ionian artists to participate in mainland festivals such as the *Sotēria* at Delphi under the protection of the Amphictyony. This network may be represented by the three *theoroi* from “**all** the *technitai*” (ἐκ πάντων τῶν τεχνιτῶν, 35-6). The use of πάντων here only makes sense if it refers to artists from multiple associations, because it would otherwise be redundant if it referred only to members of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, whose participation *en bloc* is already ensured by the decree. The significance of the number of *theoroi* (if there is any) is difficult to discern, though it is possible that one *theoros* came from the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. This expectation of joint participation in the sacrifice and the procession of the festival recalls the prominence of the Ptolemaic association of *technitai* in the *pompē* of Philadelphos, which opened the newly-founded *Ptolemaieia* in Alexandria, a festival that also celebrated its ties to the Pythian games.<sup>444</sup> A delegation of *theoroi* drawn from multiple associations sent to Magnesia would have signaled the range of the festival's acceptance throughout the Greek world.

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<sup>444</sup> The artists in the procession carried victory tripods for boys' and mens' choruses from the Pythian games, described in detail by Kallixeinos (Athen. 5.197g-h).

The exchange between the Magnesians and the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* is articulated further in a second set of decrees that were inscribed together on a large stele found in the vicinity of the *I.Magnesia* 54 in the southwest corner of the city *agora* (*I.Magnesia* 89 [Ep. Cat. 16], 207/6 or 206/5 BCE).<sup>445</sup> The first decree (lines 1-51) records honors from the *technitai* to the same three *theoroi* from Magnesia who were sent to proclaim the *Leukophryeneia*, and so the text likely dates from the same year or the one immediately following the artists' acceptance of the festival.<sup>446</sup> We learn from the text, which survives in good condition, that the Magnesian delegates offered *proedria* (first-row seating) at the musical *agōn* to the artists (*I.Magnesia* 89, 15), before speaking with zeal about their city in order to solicit the artists' participation (16-20). In response, the *koinon* decreed honors for the Magnesian *theoroi* that included sacrifices to Artemis Leukophryene "just like those to Apollo Pythios" (24-6), and a special crown rewarding their good behavior during their stay with the artists in Teos (30-9).

One of the most important features of this response is the artists' eagerness to be *seen* honoring the goddess and the *demos* ([ὅ]πως οὖν φαίνεται τὸ κοινόν, 21). In that vein, they boast that they do not lack the ambition (*philotimia*) to participate in this honorific exchange (27-9). This is fairly typical language for honorific decrees, which often include stipulations that the honorer be seen as a good benefactor to the honorand, an im-

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<sup>445</sup> The stele which bears *I.Magnesia* 89 is broken into four pieces but is estimated to have been two meters in height.

<sup>446</sup> Pythodotos, son of Charisios, Epikouros, son of Agaristos, and Prytanis, son of Pyronidos (*I.Magnesia* 89, 1-2; *I.Magnesia* 54, 4-5, 41-2).

pulse that was further fed by a common stipulation to place such decrees in “the most visible place” (ἐπιφανέστατος τοπός).<sup>447</sup> In a way, this decree serves as advertisement for the *koinon*, and its placement in the *agora* would have ensured that visitors to the city and festival would be reminded of the artists’ contribution to the festival’s success.

What, exactly, are the artists advertising? Apart from their implied promise to participate in the musical contests of the *Leukophryeneia*, the artists promise to participate in the sacrifices to Artemis “just as (they do) to Apollo Pythios” (26). This directly responds to the Magnesians’ appeal that their festival be recognized as “isopythian”, a status that the artists accepted in their earlier decree (*I.Magnesia* 54, 25). As noted above, when states and sanctuaries accepted a festival as “isopythian” or “isolympic”, it was typically understood that victors at the festival would receive the same honors that were due to individuals who won at the particular periodic festival. In this case, however, the artists promise something quite different: namely, that they would pray (κατεύχεσθαι, 24) to the goddess Artemis Leukophryene just as they did to Apollo Pythios, whose oracle at Delphi was so important to the Ionian-Hellespontine artists’ ability to participate in festivals abroad. This effectively draws the reader’s attention to the artists’ well-established connections with the cult and periodic festival to which the Magnesians hope to equate the *Leukophryeneia*. In a similar fashion, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* claimed that it was the “first” to recognize the *Mouseia* of Thespiiai as a crowned contest a few decades earlier (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 457, 58-61, ca. 225 BCE). Here too, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* advertises

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<sup>447</sup> On the use of the language of visibility in Hellenistic decrees and their resulting placement in public view, see Bielfeldt 2012.

itself as an important benefactor of the *polis* of Magnesia and the cult of Artemis Leukophryene by showcasing its connections with the broader Greek world.

## **I.2 The *Technitai* at Iasos (*I.Iasos* 152, mid to late 2nd c. BCE)**

By the middle of the second century BCE, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* had formed a powerful connection with the Attalid court in Pergamon. This larger *koinon*, now identified as "the *koinon* of *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos in Ionia and the Hellespont and those in the entourage of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*",<sup>448</sup> continued to offer its services to local festivals in much the same way as the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* had for mainland festivals during the late third century. In Iasos, a coastal city to the south of Teos, the *koinon* arranged to provide performers for the city's *Dionysia* festival, an agreement recorded on a second-century decree found in the city (*I.Iasos* 152 [Ep. Cat. 17], mid-second century BCE).<sup>449</sup> After acknowledging the long-standing goodwill of the Iasians towards the artists, along with their "common benefactors" at Rome (6), the *koinon* resolved to send two *aulos* players, two tragic actors, two comic actors, a kitharode, and a *kithara* player, all of whom were to direct the choruses in celebration of the god according to the ancestral customs of the city (15-17).

The *koinon* assured the integrity of their contract by including a proviso for the penalty for any member who failed to perform his duties at the festival: a fine of 1000

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<sup>448</sup> τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σον τεχ]νιτῶν [τῶ]ν ἐν Ἰωνίαι [κ]α[ι] Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγούμενα Διόνυ[σον] (*I.Iasos* 152,1-2).

<sup>449</sup> On the date for this decree, see below, p. 321 n. 578

Antiochean drachmas sacred to Dionysos (22). If the individual failed to perform due to an illness, he could appeal his case before the assembly (*plēthos*) of the *koinon* at Teos and have the fine removed (23-5). Such fines for failing to perform at a festival after having agreed to appear were traditionally payable to the city that hosted a festival. This was the case for the actor Athenodoros, who was fined by the city of Athens for failing to appear in the *Dionysia* when he opted instead to perform for Alexander and the Cypriot kings at Tyre in 329 BCE (Plut. *Alex.* 29). The third-century Euboean contract for *technitai* similarly stipulated that any artists who failed to perform at any of festivals agreed upon in their contract would be subject to arrest and the confiscation of their property by any of the Euboean *poleis* (IG XII 209, 42-9). In the case of the *Agrionia* at Thebes, the Delphic Amphictyony stipulated that any artist of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* who failed to perform at the festival when assigned and who was convicted by the agonothele from Thebes would be subject to seizure by any authority and punishable according to Theban law (F.D. III.1.351, 30-39).

Rather than have their own artists be subject to local laws, however, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* established their own regulations for punishing artists who broke their contracts, who were subject to a fine by their association unless they could sufficiently defend themselves before an assembly of the *koinon*.<sup>450</sup> The reference to Anti-

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<sup>450</sup> The *plēthos* referred to in lines 20 and 24 must refer to an assembly of the artists, and *not* the Iasians, for two reasons. First, the *plēthos* is described as having assigned performers to the festival in line 20, an action that the *koinon* promises earlier in the decree (15-18). Second, the artists offer further stipulations “in order that the Iasians recognize **the zeal of our *plēthos***” in line 25 (ἵνα δὲ καὶ Ἰασεῖς ἐπιγείν<ω>σκώσιν **τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους ἡμῶν σπουδὴν**).



ocean drachmas, which were outdated after the Seleukids withdrew from Asia Minor in 188 BCE, suggests that the law was passed by the *technitai* at a time when the Seleukids controlled Teos in the third century but was never updated to reflect a change in currency.<sup>451</sup> This law subsequently formed part of their assurance to Iasos that they would honor their obligation to the city, though this assurance was based much more on trust between the *polis* and the *koinon*, rather than on the city's own laws. Thus, by assuming a traditional *polis* regulation for the organization and integrity of festivals, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* effectively maintained greater autonomy in negotiating contracts with local city-states.

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<sup>451</sup> Le Guen 2001 I, 269-70.

## II. The Ionian-Hellespontine *Koinon* at Teos<sup>452</sup>

### II.1. Teos in the Hellenistic Period

The ancient city of Teos, located near modern Sığacık, was a coastal city of northern Ionia that was occasionally caught between the warring successor kingdoms in the East during the early Hellenistic period. At the end of the fourth century, Antigonos Monophthalmos, who initially received the city and its surrounding territory after Alexander's death, forced the Teians into a synoikism with the Lebedians, who were briefly settled in the city after a disastrous earthquake destroyed Lebedos.<sup>453</sup> Along with the other members of the Ionian League, Teos fell under Seleukid control after the Battle of Koroupeion in 281 BCE. The effects of this political shift are not readily apparent in the archaeological or epigraphical evidence for the city, which appears to have enjoyed a favorable relationship with the Seleukid court despite the internal conflict between the brothers Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax that came to a head sometime around 240-237 BCE.

Although it enjoyed generally favorable relations with the *diadochoi*, Teos was plagued by piracy and brigandage in the Hellenistic period. Sometime in the second half of the third century, the city established a garrison at the nearby mountain town of Kyrbissos, with which the Teian assembly negotiated an agreement of *sympoliteia* (*SEG* 26.1306) detailing the responsibilities and common oaths of the soldiers from both com-

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<sup>452</sup> See Strang 2007 for a thorough overview of the history of Teos.

<sup>453</sup> Welles 1974, nos. 3-4 (306-2 BCE). See Strang 2007, 80-1.

munities in the event of an attack from the east through the Matousian mountain range.<sup>454</sup> Despite this protection, Teos was still vulnerable by sea, and in 230 BCE, a devastating pirate attack caused significant damage to the city and resulted in the capture of many of its inhabitants, whom the pirates held for a heavy ransom. Without any other recourse, the Teian assembly imposed a one-time ten percent tax on all citizens and foreign residents in order to raise the necessary funds to secure the release of the prisoners.<sup>455</sup>

By the last quarter of the third century BCE, Teos was in dire circumstances. As a result of the damage caused by the pirates, many of its citizens were financially strapped as they sought to rebuild their defenses. Their priority was the construction of a large fortification wall, the financing of which is well-documented epigraphically.<sup>456</sup> Revenue and security were the most pressing and essential needs for Teos during this vulnerable period of recovery and regrowth, and so the city looked to the Seleukid and Attalid kingdoms in turn for assistance. In 229 BCE, a year after the pirate attack, the city received a donation from Attalos I.<sup>457</sup> Antiochos III, eager to reclaim the territory for the Seleukid kingdom, successfully regained much of Ionia in 222 BCE, including Teos. The city fell to Attalid rule again in 218 BCE, this time with a heavy tribute imposed on the city, which had to

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<sup>454</sup> See Strang 2007, 83 and 174-9 for a discussion of the inscription and its date, which is largely based on letter forms.

<sup>455</sup> *SEG* 44.949, 24-7 (230 BCE). Strang (2007, 173-207) discusses the inscription and the pirate attack in considerable detail.

<sup>456</sup> For a summary of the wall's construction in this period, see Strang 2007, 200-3. The inscriptions are collected in Maier 1959, nos. 62-8.

<sup>457</sup> *SEG* 2.580, 17-18. This inscription, which discusses the settlement of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Teos, is discussed in more detail below.

give hostages to Pergamon as a show of fealty (Polybius 5.77). Teos changed hands once more in 204/3 BCE, when Antiochos III regained the city and abolished the tribute imposed by his rivals, much to the relief of the Teians.<sup>458</sup>

## II.2. The *koinon* of *technitai* and protection for Teos

It is in the midst of this turmoil and uncertainty at the end of the third century BCE that the city of Teos made a remarkable bid to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai* to settle in their city. This bid is recorded in an inscription found in secondary use in a Turkish cemetery in Seferihisar (*SEG* 2.580 [Ep. Cat. 18], 229-223 or 218-204 BCE).<sup>459</sup> In the decree, Teos offers to purchase land for the artists, either in the city or the *chora*, valued at six thousand drachmas. The Teians further resolve to declare the land to be sacred and inviolable (5-9). The land would also be tax-free (ὄν ἀτελὲς ὅν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν, 9), and repayment would be delayed for a period of five years (18-20).

In light of the financial woes, pirate threats, and political instability that Teos experienced in the last quarter of the third century, the concessions that its citizens made in order to bring the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to their city are staggering. Half of the necessary funds were taken from a pool of money that was previously reallocated from the construction of the fortification wall to balance the price of grain for the city's inhabi-

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<sup>458</sup> See Strang 2007, 84-5 for a summary of this particularly turbulent period in Teos' political history. On Antiochos III's relations with Teos during this time, see Ma 1999, 260-65.

<sup>459</sup> On the dating of this decree, see below p. 322 n. 579

tants (13-16).<sup>460</sup> This reveals a calculated risk on the part of the assembly, which essentially chose to forestall the construction of its main protection against another devastating attack in order to make a sufficiently appealing offer to the association of artists. The other half, taken from the royal funds given by Attalos I for the city's administration (*dioikēsis*) after it had suffered the pirate attack (16-18), most likely delayed important (re)construction projects in the recovering city.

These concessions were seen as a substantial investment, illustrated most clearly in the temporary (five year) suspension of repayments for the land that the city granted.<sup>461</sup> In due time, the city would collect revenue from the *koinon*'s property. Additionally, the expected financial returns from having a *koinon* of *technitai* based in the city must have been considerable. The *koinon* organized an annual *panegyris* at Teos and, though we have no direct evidence for it, it is very likely that they took part in organizing and participating in the city's annual *Dionysia* festival, which would have likely drawn visitors hoping to see the professional artists of the *koinon* in performance.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> As Strang notes (2007, 255), the fact that the Teians had an allocated grain fund gives us a sense of just how financially strapped their city was.

<sup>461</sup> This sacred property (κτῆμα ἱερὸν, 7) has not been conclusively identified in the archaeological remains of Teos, though several educated guesses have been made, including an open area south of the city's *bouleuterion*, which was once thought to be the theater used by the *technitai* (Hahland 1950, 94-7), and the area near the temple of Dionysos (Stempolides 1987, 197-205). The large collection of civic decrees inscribed for and by the Teian assembly at both sites argues against such an identification (Strang 2007, 257-8). Aneziri (2003, 178-9) makes a compelling suggestion that the κτῆμα ἱερὸν was not developed urban property but rather farmland that was farmed or rented for steady profit in order to provide stable income for the *koinon* outside of victory crowns and earnings from festival performances. No such site has been conclusively identified, though the fact that the Teians allow for the purchase of land "in the city or countryside" (6) makes this an attractive speculation.

<sup>462</sup> The *panegyris* is known from the later dispute between the *koinon* and Teos over the collection of revenue during the festival (see below). This dispute suggests that the festival brought in a lot of revenue for the *koinon* and the city.

Apart from these economic benefits, the presence of the artists at Teos served an arguably more important political and religious purpose for the city. Teos, which already had a cultural claim to fame as the home of the archaic poet Anacreon,<sup>463</sup> was also one of many cities that claimed to be the birthplace of Dionysos, who was the city's chief patron and was featured on the city's coinage as early as the fourth century BCE.<sup>464</sup> The city's permanent stone theater was originally constructed sometime in the third century as a venue for festival performances.<sup>465</sup> In the early second century, soon after the *koinon* of *technitai* settled in the city, Teos bolstered its claim with the construction of a monopteral temple to the god designed by the famous architect Hermogenes, whose innovative work on the structure was greatly admired by Vitruvius.<sup>466</sup>

This massive investment in the cult of Dionysos was a central component in Teos' bid, beginning at the end of the third century, for international recognition as a sacred and inviolable (*asylos*) city. The presence of the artists' headquarters served to boost this claim, which was chiefly meant to ward off any future attacks by foreign powers or pirates. Of the hundreds of *asylia* decrees that survive from the Hellenistic period, thirty record protections guaranteed by various city-states and sanctuaries to Teos, one of the

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<sup>463</sup> In the surviving poetry of Anacreon, Teos is typically called Athamantis. In the Roman period, elite Teians were occasionally honored with the title *Neos Athamas* (See Strabo 14.1.3 and Strang 2007, 45-6 and n. 3).

<sup>464</sup> According to Diodoros (3.66.2), the Teians cemented their claim by declaring that a spring of sweet and fragrant wine flowed spontaneously throughout the year in their city.

<sup>465</sup> A precise date for this construction is impossible to secure. The theater was substantially renovated in the second century CE, obscuring much of the earlier phase. (Strang 2007, 87 and n. 118). The Teians celebrated an annual *Dionysia* and *Anthesteria* in honor of the god (*ibid.*, 156-60).

<sup>466</sup> Vitr. 3.3.6-8 and 4.3.1. Few remains of the temple have been found in excavations at the city. See Strang 2007, 146-56 for a summary of its architecture and date.

largest assemblages for any single city from the Hellenistic period.<sup>467</sup> An impetus for this campaign may be traced to the earliest guarantee of *asylia* from Antiochos III, who visited Teos in 203 BCE after re-establishing Seleukid control over the region. The occasion was marked with celebration by the Teians, who inscribed honors to the king in return for his benefactions (*SEG* 41.1003 I, 203 BCE).

According to the decree, the presence of the artists at the city was a centrally important factor in the king's decision to grant protections to the city, as he expressly wished to gratify “both the *demos* (of the Teians) and the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos” (θέλων χαρίζεσθαι τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν / περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, 16-17). The fact that the *demos* and *koinon* are listed side by side suggests that the artists were co-identified with Teos. Thus, the resulting privileges from Antiochos, including a declaration that their land was sacred and inviolable (18) and that the Teians were no longer subject to tribute as they had been under the Attalids (19-20), were benefits both to the Teians and the *koinon* of *technitai*. It is possible that the artists and Teos sent a joint embassy to the king, as χαρίζεσθαι takes the *demos* and the *koinon* in the dative case (16). Given the massive investment that the Teians had made to attract the *koinon* of *technitai* to relocate to their city, it would seem that the artists' presence was considered an important factor in swaying the king's decision to consecrate the city and

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<sup>467</sup> Rigsby 1997, nos. 132-161. The decrees, nearly all of which were issued by cities on Crete, are from the Aitolians (132), the Amphictyony (133), Delphi (134), the Athamanian kings (135), Knossos (136), Polyrrenia (137), Rhaukos (138), Kydonia (139), Axos (140), Sybrita (141), Lato (142), Lappa (143), Hierapytna (144), Aptera (145), Biannos (146), Apollonia (147), Istron (148), Eleutherna (149), Arkades (150), Allaria (151), Lato by Kamara (152), Rome (153), Aptera with minor revisions (154), Eranna (155), Biannos with minor revisions (156), Malla (157), Knidos (158), Arkades with minor revisions (159), Hyrtakina (160), and an unidentified Cretan city (161).

to guarantee its protection. Later in the same decree, we learn that the Teians sent another embassy to Antiochos at his bidding, to whom he announced that the relief from tribute would be permanent (30-46). In return for this unusually beneficent measure,<sup>468</sup> the Teians dedicated statues of the king and queen, to be placed at the Temple of Dionysos, with whom they are equated as co-saviors of the city (50-2).<sup>469</sup>

In a separate decree (*SEG* 41.1003 II, 203 BCE), we learn that the Teians also established a new eponymous festival, the *Laodikeia and Antiocheia*, in the rulers' honor. The festival, which took place near the beginning of the Teian calendar year, interwove a celebration of the rulers' cult with important traditional civic rituals, including the graduation of ephebes to citizen status and the inauguration of new magistrates. The involvement of the *technitai* in the festival is difficult to prove, though they are very likely mentioned along with other magistrates taking part in the initial feast who were listed in the opening lines of the decree, where a portion of the surviving text suggestively reads καὶ τοὺς περὶ (“and those in the entourage...”, 6).<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Relief from tribute was more commonly granted for a limited period in order to allow a city to recuperate financially before being taxed at a later date. See Rigsby 1997, 282.

<sup>469</sup> *SEG* 41.1003 I, 50-2: κ[α]ὶ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν | ἄλλων με[τέχ]οντες τῷ Διονύσῳ κοιν[οὶ σωτῆρε]ς ὑπάρχουσι τῆς | [πό]λεως ἡμῶν καὶ κοινῇ διδῶσιν ἡ[μῖν ἀγ]αθὰ. (“And [Antiochos and Laodike] having a share in the temple and other things with Dionysos they are the comm[on savior]s of [o]ur [ci]ty and give [go]d things t[o u]s in common”).

<sup>470</sup> See Robert 1937, 184 and Ma 1999, 314. *SEG* 41.1003 II, 6: ...[κα]ὶ συνεῖναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ πάντας | τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄρχον[τας] καὶ τοὺς περὶ [τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνί]τας ....12-14....]. “...[and all the city’s arch]ons and the [artists] in the entourage [of Dionysos] come together for a feast on [that] da[y]...”. The restoration of the association name was initially made by Herrman 1965a (36-40) [= *SEG* 41.1003], which was followed by J. and L. Robert (*BE* 69, 495) who note that the feast was most likely exclusive to the magistrates and the *technitai*.



If Herrman's restoration of line 6 is correct, it could suggest that the Ionian-Hellspontine *koinon* was closely involved in the organization and celebration of this new festival, given their presence at the initial feast along with the city's magistrates.<sup>471</sup> If this was so, the honors arranged by the city and *koinon* for their royal benefactor appear to be remarkably similar to those later offered by Athens and its *synodos* of *technitai* to Ariarathes V (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 163-130 BCE). In each case, the artists' associations served a prominent role in connecting a wealthy royal benefactor and their native cities, subsequently integrating a celebration of a royal cult within their city's festival calendar.

Beyond securing the support of Antiochos, the close ties with the Ionian-Hellspontine *koinon* were instrumental to the success of Teos' campaign for *asylia*. One of the most important and significant steps in this process was obtaining recognition from Delphi, a central authority whose oracle later served as part of the Teian appeal for *asylia* from other Greek *poleis*.<sup>472</sup> In three successive decrees from the Aitolians, the Amphictyony, and the *polis* of Delphi, all inscribed by the same hand at the top of the north *anta* wall of the Athenian Treasury (see FIGURE 4), the protected status of the *technitai* served as a legal basis for the protection that was guaranteed to the Teians.<sup>473</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> Ma 1999, 314: "the first banquet named is not organized for all the inhabitants of the city...but only for the magistrates and their choice guests, the Dionysiac artists...".

<sup>472</sup> Several of the decrees from states granting *asylia* to Teos in the early second century acknowledge that they had received protection from the oracles at Delphi and Didyma. See Rigsby 1997, 287 for summary.

<sup>473</sup> Aitolians: *F.D.* III.2.134a (203 BCE); The Delphic Amphictyony: *F.D.* III.2.134b (203 BCE); Delphi: *F.D.* III.2.134c (203 BCE).

In the same year, the Teians sent their first delegation of ambassadors to the Cretan *poleis*, from whom they obtained *asylia* not only for Teian citizens and inhabitants but also for the city itself.<sup>474</sup> Thirty years later, the city sent a second delegation to renew their protections, which included a performance of Cretan poetry by musicians from Teos who may have been members of the *koinon* of *technitai*. The honorific decree from the Priansians that records this delegation (*I.Cret.* I.24.1, ca. 170 BCE), singles out the two ambassadors from Teos, Herodotos, son of Menodotos, and Menekles, son of Dionysios (3-4), the latter of whom performed the works of the Cretan poets Timotheos and Polyides among others,<sup>475</sup> before performing a historic cycle about Cretan gods and heroes as a demonstration of his *paideia* (8-13). Another performance by Menekles is attested in a decree from Knossos from the same year (*I.Cret.* 1.8), though it provides less information about his choice of songs.

This remarkable display of talent and virtuosity, as Chaniotis has previously argued,<sup>476</sup> would suggest that Menekles was possibly a member of the *koinon* of *technitai*, though neither decree mentions the association by name. An earlier Teian decree from the

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<sup>474</sup> See *I.Cret.* II.10.2 (Kydonia, 203/2 BCE), esp. 16-27.

<sup>475</sup> Polyides and Timotheos were contemporary fourth century poets who were competitive rivals, according to Athenaeus (8.352b). Timotheos, a native of Miletos, was best known in later antiquity for his lyric poetry, though some of his works treated the myth of Dionysos and may have included episodes from the Cretan mythological cycle (*PMG* 777-804). We know less about Polyides or his works, though he was better known as a tragic poet (*TGF* 78). The literary heritage of Priansos is lost to us, and the inscription here is of little help except to suggest that Menekles was a well-read performer whose broad knowledge of poets and stories from different places on Crete was seen as an aid to the diplomatic mission. Strang suggests that Menekles would have likely emphasized the story of Oinopion (son of Ariadne and Dionysos) and his son Athamas, who sailed from Crete to found a kingdom on Chios before Athamas would eventually go on to found the city of Teos (2007, 232).

<sup>476</sup> Chaniotis 1988, 348-9.

beginning of the second century BCE (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 578) includes a provision to subsidize instruction on the *kithara* for Teian youths (14-19), one of whom may have been Menekles himself.<sup>477</sup> Even if we were to accept that he was a Teian citizen and not a member of the *koinon*, however, the fact that Teos provided musical education for its youths after the *koinon* of *technitai* relocated to their city would indicate that the artists were at least involved in the musical *paideia* of young Teians.

After suffering a devastating pirate attack that damaged their city severely in the late third century BCE, the Teians looked to obtain assurances of *asylia* from other Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean. A central component of their diplomatic campaign was their city's ties to the cult of Dionysos. As part of their investment in the cult, which included the construction of a new temple and theater in the city, the Teians offered tax-free land and other desirable privileges to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, whose international reputation and connections with other Greek *poleis* and the Delphic Amphictyony were especially desirable. In 203 BCE, these connections successfully obtained guarantees of *asylia* for Teos from the Aitolians, the Amphictyony, and Delphi. In addition, there is also evidence to suggest that members of the *koinon* joined Teian delegations to Crete, performing before local assemblies in order to obtain guarantees of protection from the Cretan *poleis*.

The artists, for their part, benefited from their symbiotic relationship with Teos by enjoying a privileged independent status within the city. In addition to organizing festi-

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<sup>477</sup> Strang 2007, 232 n. 82.

vals with and for the city of Teos, such as the *Laodikeia and Antiocheia*, the artists also organized their own annual *panegyris*, which would become a source of considerable revenue for the *koinon* (see below). Despite this relative independence, however, the artists' political destiny was very much tied to that of Teos by the end of the third century BCE. Thus, when the city exchanged hands to the Attalid kingdom after the Peace of Apameia in 188 BCE, the presence of the artists would once again serve to integrate the new political hegemony with the city that had fought on the side of the Seleukids.

### III. The Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* and Royal Cult

#### III.1 Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* and Attalid Patronage

After the Peace of Apameia in 188 BCE, Teos (along with the rest of Ionia) changed hands from the Seleukid to the Attalid kingdom. The Teians accordingly introduced elements of the Pergamene court's ruler cult into their festival cycle by instituting rites for the queens Apollonis and Stratonike that were undertaken by the priests of Aphrodite following a royal visit by the queen to the city soon after the treaty.<sup>478</sup> The political shift also affected the artists, whose *koinon* henceforth adopted a much longer title that appended their devotion to the Pergamene ruler cult: “the *koinon* of *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos in Ionia and the Hellespont and those in the entourage of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* (‘the Ruler’)”.<sup>479</sup> Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* was a local Pergamene epithet for the god that was promoted by the Attalid court, which identified its deceased rulers with the dynastic god, who had long been prominent in the Ptolemaic ruler cult and who was an important symbolic connection with Alexander and the eastern campaign that secured much of the territory now controlled by the Attalid kingdom.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Strang 2007, 87-8 and 277. The city dedicated an altar for Apollonis Eusebes Apobateria (“disembarker”) in the *agora* (Kotsidu 2000, no. 240), a title that seems to indicate that the queen visited the city by ship. The participation of the priests of Aphrodite in the royal cult suggests that the queens were *synnaoi* with the goddess (Strang 2007, 87).

<sup>479</sup> Seen, e.g., in *I.Iasos* 152, 1-2: τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σον τεχ]νιτῶν [τῶ]ν ἐν Ἰωνίαι [κ]α[ὶ] Ἑλλης / πόντῳ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγημόνα Δι[όνυ]σον.

<sup>480</sup> On the cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* and its connections with the Attalid court, see Le Guen 2001 I, 235-66; von Prott 1902, 162-66; and Musti 1986. Evidence for this connection may be seen, e.g., in a joint dedication to Attalos I and Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* (*SEG* 39.1334) and the appointment of priests in the god's cult by Attalos II (Welles 1974, no. 65) and Attalos III (Welles 1974, no. 66).

Though there is no evidence for an independent association of artists devoted to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* prior to the addition of his cult to this larger association, it is often thought that this larger *koinon*, with its prolix title, was a merger between the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Teos and an association based in Pergamon.<sup>481</sup> The formation of an independent Pergamene association is typically dated to the sixteen-year period of Seleukid control at Teos from 204-188 BCE, under the assumption that this would have severed contact between the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* of *technitai* and the Attalid court. In support of this theory, Le Guen and others point to a decree from ca. 129 BCE securing an alliance between Rome and Elaia, the port city of Pergamon, which includes prayers for the safety of "the artists in the entourage of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*", with no mention of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.<sup>482</sup> This apparent split, which must have taken place around the third quarter of the second century BCE, suggests that the artists devoted to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* had an independent identity from the larger *koinon*. However, there is no indication that this independence extended as far back as the beginning of the second century, and it is equally likely that it developed over the course of the second-century.

I therefore prefer to read this change in the association's title as a reflection of the extension of Attalid control over the regional association based at Teos, which resulted in the patronage of its members at the royal court in Pergamon following the model of the

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<sup>481</sup> See, e.g., Strang 2007, 276 and Le Guen 2001 I, 235-6.

<sup>482</sup> *IGR* IV 1692, 44-9.

Ptolemaic association of *technītai* who were explicitly devoted to the Alexandrian ruler cult. Rather than wholly subsume the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* into the dynastic cult, the Attalid court allowed the already powerful and wealthy association to continue its practice and performance uninhibited, though bearing an additional affiliation to their new political rulers. The change in title, then, reflects not so much a merger of two associations as a partial shift of an independent and powerful *koinon* to the control of the Attalid court, which (at least nominally) allowed for the continued autonomy and independence of the *koinon* at Teos.

### **III.2. Kraton son of Zotichos: A Celebrity of the *koinon* at Pergamon**

It is impossible to assess the Attalid patronage of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* without discussing the life of its most famous member, the *aulos*-player Kraton son of Zotichos, who hailed from the town of Kalchedon in Bithynia. Indeed, the career of this illustrious and wealthy musician was closely intertwined with what we know of the history and activity of the enlarged *koinon* during the period of Attalid control of Teos and the *koinon*. Kraton's career therefore allows us to assess the relationship between the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* and its royal patrons at Pergamon.

As a young man in the early second century, Kraton's talent as a musician led him to Teos, where he enrolled as a member of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* and enjoyed

success in local festivals.<sup>483</sup> By his death in the mid to late second century, he had amassed a considerable personal fortune and enjoyed a close relationship with the Attalid court in Pergamon. In his final will, he left a massive inheritance to the *Attalistai*, a religious association that he likely founded to serve the royal cult at Pergamon.<sup>484</sup> His inheritance included a house adjacent to the royal palace, money to pay for the construction of an *Attaleion* by the theater, and a fund of 10,500 Alexander drachmas to help offset the annual cost of the *choregia* for the city's *Dionysia* festival.<sup>485</sup>

Kraton's career as a performer and official in various associations is attested by nine inscriptions. In most cases, it is difficult to obtain a close date for any of these documents, and there continues to be debate over the relative sequence of Kraton's honors and achievements between his earliest appearance in the Iasian victors lists and his death in Pergamon. Rather than attempt to provide a new chronological sequence of these inscriptions,<sup>486</sup> the following discussion is organized in two parts, focusing first on those

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<sup>483</sup> The earliest inscription to mention Kraton is a victors list from Iasos whose *terminus post quem* is 193/2 BCE (*I.Iasos* 163, 9). See Crowther 1995 (esp. 228) for an overview of the chronology of the inscriptions at the Iasian theater.

<sup>484</sup> Kraton's death must have taken place between 146 and either 138 or 133 BCE. The *terminus post quem* is provided by the letter of Mummius to the Ionian-Hellespontine association, which mentions Kraton by name (*IG* VII 2413-2414, 13).

<sup>485</sup> Considering the lavish expenditures paid towards the *choregia* at the Athenian city *Dionysia* (though this example is admittedly from a different temporal and political context), this was a substantial gift in and of itself. The very fact that it is dedicated toward a *choregia* (implying a competition between multiple *choregoi*) rather than an *agonothesia* (the control of a festival program by a single agonothete) nevertheless seems to hearken back to the example of classical Athens as a "golden age" of drama. The Attalids had taken a considerable interest in the cultural heritage of Athens, as evidenced by the stoas of Attalos in the agora and of Eumenes next to the theater of Dionysos that sheltered audiences during inclement weather. We do not know enough about the festival program at Pergamon, but I would speculate that it echoed the classical Athenian *Dionysia*.

<sup>486</sup>For the chronology of these inscriptions, see Daux 1935, 210-30 and Le Guen 2007, 247-51.



inscriptions that attest Kraton's career as an artist in the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and then on his involvement with the *Attalistai* and the royal cult in Pergamon.

### III.2.a. Kraton as artist

One of the earliest decrees to refer to Kraton's career (*IG* XI 4, 1061, 188-167 BCE)<sup>487</sup> records honors from the Ionian-Hellespontine and Pergamene *koinon* and was set up on the island of Delos. The decree informs us that Kraton had already served twice as agonotheite and priest of Dionysos for the *koinon*, the highest office in the association (5-9). In addition to his generosity towards the *koinon*, Kraton is recognized for his devotion to several important deities and political figures in his day:<sup>488</sup>

...πάντα τὰ πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀνήκοντα [ἐπετέλεσεν τῷ τε Διονύ]-  
σῳ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι  
ὁμοῖως δὲ καὶ τοῖς τε βασι]-  
λεῦσι καὶ ταῖς βασιλίσσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς βασιλέως Εὐμένου καὶ τῷ [κοινῷ τῶν  
περὶ τὸν Διόνυ]-  
10 σον τεχνιτῶν ἀποδεικνύμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ εὐσέβε[ιαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν  
ἐν παντὶ καί]-  
ρῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ἀεὶ τινος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος γινόμενος.

[And (Kraton) also provides] all fitting things for honor and repute [both to Diony]sos and to the Muses and to Apollo Pythios and to a[ll] the other gods [just as (he does) to both ki]ngs and queens and the siblings of king Eumenes and to the [*koinon* of] *tech-nītai* [in the entourage of Diony]sos, showing his fine upbringing and piet[y and ambition at every op]portunity, being responsible for any good in private and in public.

<sup>487</sup> The *terminus post quem* is provided by the introduction of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* to the association's title in the decree, suggesting that these honors came after the Peace of Apameia. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the decree's reference to the *dēmos* of the Delians (39), who were expelled after the Romans gave control of the island over to the Athenians in 167 BCE.

<sup>488</sup> Text from Le Guen 2001 I TE 45.

The list of Kraton's connections is impressive, and it is no coincidence that the same decree boasts of the *koinon*'s participation in the *Mouseia*, *Sotēria*, and *Agrionia* festivals (sacred to the Muses, Apollo, and Dionysos respectively) by virtue of the *asylia* and *as-phaleia* they have obtained from kings and oracles (15-21). The success of the *koinon* is thus implicitly tied with the elite connections and favor that have been bestowed on Kraton himself. It is possible that Kraton was instrumental to some of the diplomatic missions undertaken on behalf of the *koinon*.<sup>489</sup>

In return for his service and benefaction, the association honored Kraton with a crown and three statues: one to be placed at the theater in Teos, another in Delos, and a third at a location of Kraton's choosing (27-31). The choice of Teos is obvious, as the headquarters of the *koinon*, but the prominence of Delos for a statue and this decree is striking, as there is no evidence that the *technitai* organized any festivals on the island.<sup>490</sup> Furthermore, the importance of Apollo's cult to the *technitai* was chiefly seen in the protections assured by his oracle at Delphi and in their participation in the *Sotēria*, which celebrated the sanctuary's deliverance from Brennus' forces in 279 BCE. In any case, it was a choice location for any honorific inscription as a major port of trade.

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<sup>489</sup> This is how Le Guen 2007 interprets the reference to Kraton's name in Mummius' letter: "This report authorises the following proposition: on the occasion of a contest held in the city or region [of Thebes], Kraton was to speak, before the Roman general, for the cause not only of the *Technitai* of the Anatolian Association...but also that of his colleagues, members of other Associations, gathered during the great contests of mainland Greece." (267-8).

<sup>490</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that the theater and its surrounding precinct (including a house with an elaborate Dionysiac mosaic including theatrical masks) was built up during the Hellenistic period. See Fraisse and Moretti 2007 for an overview of the archaeology of the theater and its quarter.

Kraton's importance to the *koinon* is underscored by a set of decrees inscribed by the same hand at Teos, listing honors bestowed upon Kraton by the Ionian-Hellespontine Koinon (CIG 3068A), the *koinon* of *synagonistai* (CIG 3068B), and the Isthmian-Ne-mean *koinon* (CIG 3068C). The decrees themselves, as Le Guen has shown,<sup>491</sup> most likely date from different years, and so the single inscription should be understood as a public dossier of Kraton's career that was most likely commissioned by the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Teos, possibly after the musician's death.

The decree of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* recognizes Kraton for his euergetism towards their individual association (7-8) and towards "all the *technitai*", which would seem to include artists from other associations.<sup>492</sup> The honors, made "in addition to the pre-existing honors" inscribed on Delos,<sup>493</sup> include the proclamation of a crown by the agonothete and priest of Eumenes in the theater at Teos on the king's birthday (15-16), and the installation of a tripod and incense burner next to Kraton's statue, where the agonothete and priest of Eumenes would offer rites on an annual basis (20-6).

This decree, which must date after IG XI 4, 1061 (188-167 BCE, when the *koinon* first dedicated Kraton's statues) and before 158 BCE (the death of Eumenes II),<sup>494</sup> is the first instance where we see the agonothete -- the chief official of the *koinon* — coincidently as the priest of Eumenes. This must have resulted naturally from the addition of the

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<sup>491</sup> Le Guen 2007, 249-50.

<sup>492</sup> CIG 3068A, 13-14.

<sup>493</sup> CIG 3068A, 8.

<sup>494</sup> The king is not yet referred to as a *theos* in this decree. See Strang 2007, 280.

Attalid cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* to the *koinon*. It is quite striking that Kraton himself is to be celebrated on the king's birthday, an honor suggesting that he was well-connected to the king and his court at Pergamon by the mid-second century BCE. We learn from this inscription that this annual celebration included a procession and libations, during which the *koinon* announced crowns and honors. The celebrants then attended a drinking party, also organized by the *koinon* (19-26).<sup>495</sup>

Though we admittedly have limited evidence for the Seleukid court's interactions with the *koinon* prior to this inscription, the introduction of the Attalid royal cult to the hierarchy of the *koinon* seems to have been a novelty. The closest parallel for this connection between the association and a royal court was the Ptolemaic association in Egypt and Cyprus, which bore the names of the ruling pair in their official title. In any case, Kraton himself seemed to have formed an important link between the court and the *koinon*, for which reason he was honored repeatedly and lavishly by his colleagues.

The second of the three decrees (*CIG* 3068B)<sup>496</sup> records the awarding of a crown to Kraton from a group that called itself the *koinon* of *synagonistai* ("fellow competitors").<sup>497</sup> We have no other reference to this group in our surviving sources. It was most likely comprised of musicians and actors who performed as a supporting cast

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<sup>495</sup> Le Guen (2001 I 253) suggests that the drinking party (*CIG* 3068A, 12) was a private party for the magistrates of the *koinon*, but nothing in the text seems to indicate that this was a restricted celebration. Rather, as Strang notes (2007, 281), the text implies that the head priest announced Kraton's crown during the drinking party, which suggests that it was open to all attendees.

<sup>496</sup> Le Guen suggests that this is the oldest of the three decrees and provides a date of 180-170 BCE on prosopographical grounds (Le Guen 2001 I 227-8).

<sup>497</sup> *CIG* 3068B, 1.

alongside competing actors and artists but were ineligible for any of the prizes awarded to individual victors.<sup>498</sup> The decree implies that Kraton was at one point (and perhaps still) a member of this other *koinon*,<sup>499</sup> though the group's institutional relationship with the Ionian-Hellespontine association is never clearly articulated.<sup>500</sup>

Only the first few lines survive from the third decree (*CIG* 3068C), which records abbreviated honors from the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*:

τῶν ἐν Ἴσθμῳ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τεψνιτῶν· ἐπειδὴ Κράτων Ζωτίχου Περγα-  
μηνὸς αὐλητῆς κύκλιος πρότερόν τε πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας παρέσχηται χρείας  
κατ' ἰδίαν τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν [αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Ἴσθμῳ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τεχνιτῶν καὶ  
κοινῇ...]<sup>501</sup>

From the *technitai* in Isthmos and Nemea: Whereas Kraton, son of Zotichos, the Pergamene dithyrambic<sup>502</sup> *aulos* player provided many great services both before in private to those who met with [him from the *technitai* in Isthmos and Nemea and publicly...]

The use of πρότερον implies that Kraton had a longstanding relationship with the mainland artists, though it is unclear what benefits he provided from the generic χρείας. One

<sup>498</sup> See Aneziri 1997, 53-71.

<sup>499</sup> The *synagonistai* declare in the decree that they wish to honor their own (12-14).

<sup>500</sup> Prior to Aneziri's assessment which has since held sway (see above), Poland (*RE* s.v. *synagonistai*) first suggested that the *synagonistai* came from different regions to attach themselves to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* for large contests. Von Prott (1902, 170-1) and Ohlemutz (1968, 99-102) suggested, based on the established chronology of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* by Daux (1935), that the *synagonistai* were members of the Pergamene association of artists devoted to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* who came to Teos as part of the purported merger. Robert (1976, 314), Ghiron-Bistagne (1991, 66), and Roueché (1993, 53) suggested that they were "subordinate" performers (e.g., pantomimes and dancers) associated with the larger *koinon*. In any case, the *synagonistai* had their own magistrates (*CIG* 3068B, 21) and their own regulations for issuing crowns (18) and were clearly able to issue their own decree (24), which suggests that they were at least a semi-independent body within the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, if not a fully independent association. See Strang 2007, 267-8 and Aneziri 1997, 60-2.

<sup>501</sup> On the restoration of this line see Le Guen 2001 I 185 and Aneziri 2003, 387. No other editions have been proposed, though the contrast between *idian* and *koinēi* is a convincing suggestion.

<sup>502</sup> An *aulos kyklios* typically referred to a musician who played to a dithyrambic chorus.

can also deduce that Kraton rendered services both for individual artists who met with him (κατ' ἰδίαν τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν) and, most likely, for the *koinon* as a whole.

As discussed above (Ch. 2), Kraton's name appears in Mummius' letter from 146 BCE guaranteeing *asylia* for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, which was inscribed on the same stone as his letter to the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*.<sup>503</sup> For this reason, Le Guen suggested that Kraton may have played an important role in securing *asylia* for both *koina* by sending an embassy to Mummius, possibly while he was visiting one of the mainland festivals.<sup>504</sup> This is an attractive suggestion, primarily because we have seen in the decrees discussed above that Kraton had served twice as head priest of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* by the early to mid- second century. I would add to this speculation that the celebration of the Isthmian games in 146 would have made a fitting venue for Kraton's embassy. It would have marked the fiftieth anniversary of Flamininus' declaration of freedom and autonomy for all Greek *poleis*.<sup>505</sup>

### III.2.b. Kraton and the *Attalistai*

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<sup>503</sup> *IG* VII 2413-2414, 13: [να Διόνυσον - - - - -] συν Κράτω[νι - - - - -]. Roesch 1982 restores the line as: [Διόνυσον καὶ τοῖς] συν Κράτω[νι Ζωτίχου Ἀτταλισταῖς], which may be appropriate given Kraton's identification with the *Attalistai* (see below), though the involvement of this cult in negotiating peace with Mummius on the mainland would seem unusual.

<sup>504</sup> Le Guen 2007, 267-8 and n. 93.

<sup>505</sup> See above (Ch. 2) for further discussion of Mummius' artistic patronage, including his interest in the Isthmian and Nemean games and his supposed introduction of scenic performances to Rome in his triumph.

Kraton's ties to the Attalid court are most clearly visible in his interaction with the *Attalistai*,<sup>506</sup> a religious association that, based on its name, must have been devoted to the royal cult at Pergamon, though they are known only from their interactions with Kraton.<sup>507</sup> Their earliest evidence is found in an inscription that preserves the first four lines of a letter from Kraton to the group (*OGIS* 325, 152 BCE):

[βασιλε]ύοντος Ἀττάλου Φιλαδέλφου, ἔτους ἑβδόμ[ου,  
 μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου, ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῶν τεχνιτῶν Κρατίν[ου,  
 καὶ ἀγων]οθέτου καὶ ἱερέως θεοῦ Εὐμένου Ἀρισταίου, Κράτω[ν Ζω-  
 τίχο]υ τοῖς Ἀτταλισταῖς τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνηγμέ[νοις

In the seventh year of the reign of King Attalos Philadelphos, in the month Dystros, when Kratinos was priest of the *technitai* and agonotheite and priest of the god Eumenes Aristaios, Kraton son of Zotichos to the *Attalistai* who were gathered together by himself

The royal dating of this decree in the first two lines allows us to date the letter around February in the seventh year of Attalos II's reign, *i.e.* 152 BCE. Though we lack the contents of the letter itself, this opening provides substantial information about the relationship between the *technitai* and the *Attalistai*. The fact that Kraton uses both the royal dating of the Attalid court ([βασιλε]ύοντος Ἀττάλου Φιλαδέλφου, ἔτους ἑβδόμ[ου | μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου, 1-2) and the internal dating of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῶν τεχνιτῶν Κρατίν[ου, | καὶ ἀγων]οθέτου καὶ ἱερέως θεοῦ Εὐμένου Ἀρισταίου, 2-3) when addressing the *Attalistai* suggests that there was an institutional overlap between the two

<sup>506</sup> The group identified itself interchangeably as οἱ Ἀτταλίσται or τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀτταλιστῶν (Daux 1935, 218-220).

<sup>507</sup> Strang 2007, 286. See Klimov 1986 for a summary of evidence. von Prott (1902, 174) speculated that the group was originally founded as the *Eumenistai* earlier in the second century, but there is no evidence for such a group in the epigraphical record.

associations, one that was possibly formal.<sup>508</sup> This may be explained by the final line. Kraton is credited with “having gathered together” the *Attalists* himself (συνηγμέ[νοις], 4), which may indicate that he was the founder of the group. This hypothesis is given support by the identification of the *Attalists* as “those with Kraton” in a second century Teian funerary inscription that records a wreathed dedication by Ἀτταλισταὶ οἱ σὺν Κράτῳι Ζωτίχου (“the Attalists with Kraton son of Zotichos”).<sup>509</sup>

The most substantial body of evidence for the relationship between Kraton, the *Attalists*, and the Attalid court comes in the decree from the *Attalists* honoring Kraton’s final act of benevolence towards the association (*CIG* 3069 [Ep. Cat. 19], 146-133 BCE).<sup>510</sup> The opening of the decree, issued by the *koinon* of *Attalists*, praises Kraton for his goodwill towards the association, which received many benefits because of his connections to the king (1-13). Kraton is credited with having gathered together and *chosen* its membership (τῶν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ συνηγμένων καὶ κε[κρι]μένων, 6-7), which seems to confirm that he was a prominent figure if not the founder of the *Attalists*. He is also credited with arranging many gifts for the *synodos* “from the kings” (καὶ πολλὰ μ<ε>ν | [κα]<λ>ὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῇ συνόδῳ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, 8-9), which seems to refer to the deified members of the Attalid ancestry, including Eumenes II whose priesthood was

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<sup>508</sup> There is no indication as to whether the *Attalists* and the *koinon* of *technitai* merely shared membership or whether they shared officials at an institutional level. The latter may be suggested by the fact that Kraton is compelled to include the internal dating of the *koinon*. If the *Attalists* were wholly independent of the *koinon* of *technitai*, then I would imagine that the royal dating of lines 1-2 should have been sufficient.

<sup>509</sup> McCabe *Teos* 242 (2nd c. BCE).

<sup>510</sup> The *terminus post quem* is derived from Kraton's name appearing in the letter from Mummius to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (*IG* VII 2413-2414, 13). The *terminus ante quem* is Attalos III's death in 133, as the king's name appears in the text as the one who delivers the will to the *Attalists*.



added to the hierarchy of the *koinon* of *technitai* at Teos. This is confirmed by the fact that a single royal benefactor is implied in the following lines (ἀποδεχομένων αὐτῶν τήν τε ἐκεῖνου [Eumenes] | ἅπαντα τρόπον πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς εὖνοιαν, 10-11) as well as Kraton's credit for living up to the group's name with his devotion (12-13) — he is a true *Attalistēs* by virtue of his service to the court at Pergamon.

The remainder of the decree records parts of Kraton's inheritance that was left to his beloved association. These include the aforementioned funds to pay for the annual *choregia* as he had done previously (13-14), which were augmented by his official will, delivered by Attalos II himself to the association (16-18). In addition, he left the *Attaleion* that he dedicated by the theater (20), a house next to the royal palace that once belonged to a certain Mikkaros (21-3), a sum of 10,500 Alexander drachmas to pay for sacrifices and meetings of the association (24-6), slaves whose assignment was detailed in a separate document (27-9), and equipment for the maintenance of their sanctuary (30-2), all of which was intended to offset costs for the *choregia* and other religious rites performed by the group (33-4). The list of items left by Kraton appears on the back of the same stone (*SEG* 46.1489) and includes mostly banqueting equipment (carpets, cushions, linen, tables, tripods, vessels, lamps) as well as signs of Kraton's elite status and upbringing (a spear and shield that indicate his ephebic training).

The concern over *choregia* in the decree suggests that the *Attalistai* were closely connected with the public theatrical life of Pergamon, while the banqueting implements left by Kraton for their sanctuary suggest that they also celebrated in more sympotic set-

tings. The term *choregia* in this context is quite striking — in most civic festivals, a single official, an agonotheite, was the sole figure who funded the production of tragedies, comedies, and other performances. In Athens, the shift from *choregia* to *agonothesia* in the late fourth century was essentially a measure used by Demetrios of Phaleron to curb lavish aristocratic spending in the city, thereby restricting their ability to symbolize their power in the urban landscape of the city and the south slope in particular, where choregic monuments as large as small temples celebrated individual victories of productions funded by wealthy backers.<sup>511</sup>

In Pergamon, whose kings were well-acquainted with Athenian cultural history, implementing a system of *choregia* may have been seen as a way to hearken back to a ‘golden age’ of theatre, one in which multiple productions backed by wealthy benefactors could compete for distinction just as much as the performers themselves. Though this does not tell us much about the specific rites and rituals enacted by the *Attalistai* for their kings, it does imply that their activities had certain cultural aspirations that were informed by the *paideia* of elite social circles. Their connection with the Ionian-Hellespontine *technitai* through the figure of Kraton served to connect this elite Pergamene interest in theater culture with the broader network of distinction established and maintained by the regional *koinon*, who continued to supply performers and organizers for local festivals throughout Ionia as they had under Seleukid control.

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<sup>511</sup> For a thorough overview of Athenian *choregia*, including the political implications of, and motivations for, the shift to *agonothesia*, see Wilson 2000.

The career of Kraton and his connections with the Attalid court allow us to trace an important series of shifts for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* as they navigated the political instability of the second century. After the Attalids regained Teos following the Peace of Apameia, they sought to integrate their robust ruler cult into the hierarchy and activity of the *koinon*, which had already established several important contacts throughout the Mediterranean both through the promotion of festivals and in the diplomatic work of securing *asylia* for Teos. The resulting introduction of Attalid royal cult to the *koinon*'s name reflects a similar strategy to the one seen by the Ptolemaic association, which also had a nomenclature that included the royal cult of the Ptolemies in addition to their association with Dionysos. The relationship between the *koinon*, Kraton, and the Attalids allows us to see how the dynasty sought to integrate the elite cultural aspirations of the court to the regional *koinon* through the formation of a new religious association headed by a singular figure whose elite connections and talent allowed him to bridge the gap between the court and the *koinon* at Teos.

#### IV. The Fallout with Teos and the Arbitration of Eumenes II (Aneziri 2003, D12, before 158 BCE)<sup>512</sup>

##### IV.1. Background to the Dispute (Aneziri D12, Cols. IC, IIB, IIA)

Nearly a century after their semi-independent relationship with Teos began with an official decree, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* ran afoul of their neighbors and hosts. Their dispute is recorded in a very fragmentary inscription recording the decision of Eumenes II after parties from the *koinon* and the *polis* had asked for an arbitration. The stones that once made up the single block were broken up and reused in Turkish fortification walls at the Pergamene acropolis.<sup>513</sup> All that survives of the lengthy text are three blocks with four columns of text and scattered fragments, all of which are fairly lacunose. Rather than offer an attempt at reconstruction, as I have not been able to see the stones myself, I will refer to Aneziri's version and ordering of the text (2003, D12 [Ep. Cat. 20], before 158 BCE). My interpretation of the surviving text and what it tells us about the nature of the dispute does not rely on this particular reconstruction, and so I include a caveat that future editions of the text may vary widely from what Aneziri presents in her monograph.<sup>514</sup>

The dispute between the *technitai* and Teos arose from the collection of revenue from the annual *panegyris*, a festival that was exclusively organized and run by the

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<sup>512</sup> According to Strang (2007, 289), the inscription has been dated to the “middle” of Eumenes' reign based on letterforms. This would suggest, in broad terms, a date in the 180s to 170s BCE. I prefer to assign a *terminus ante quem* of Eumenes' death (158 BCE), as I have not seen the stone myself and do not find the narrowed date of much help.

<sup>513</sup> Welles 1974, 219-221 describes their findspots in greater detail.

<sup>514</sup> See Aneziri 2003, 391-2 for an overview and outline of her reconstruction of the text.

*koinon*.<sup>515</sup> In the first part of the letter (now lost) it seems that Eumenes provided a summary of the dispute up to that point. In fragment IC (from the bottom of the original first column), Eumenes grants that the *technitai* may continue to elect the panegyriarch as they had done previously under the authority of the the kings (IC, 5-8).<sup>516</sup> However, it appears that Eumenes had been generally favorable to the Teian's case for some time, as he accuses the *technitai* of being "full of themselves" (καταπλεονεκτουμένων ὑμῶν, 11), a characterization that anticipates his future proposal for a synoikism between the city and the *koinon*. We also learn that the *technitai* had acted against the wishes of the king that were expressed in an earlier letter (11-13), and so found themselves at a disadvantage when making their appeal for the king's resolution to their ongoing dispute. They accordingly sought to change his opinion of their actions (11-13).

This met with limited success. In Column IIB (the top of the surviving portion of the second column, with one course missing above), which gets to the heart of the matter of revenue collection, Eumenes continues to summarize the complicated dispute, and explains that while the Teians deemed the celebration itself to be a private matter of the *koinon* of *technitai* (οὐ κοινὴν [πο]ησαμένων τὴν συντέλειαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ὑμετέ|ραμ μὲγ κεκρικότεων ιδίαν, IIB, 2-4) they claimed proprietary right to "anything (that) contributed to the revenues of the *polis*", an argument Eumenes himself declares "just" (εἰ δέ τι πρὸς

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<sup>515</sup> We know relatively little about this festival. Other than Eumenes' letter, the only other evidence for the festival is the first honorific decree from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to Kraton, which stipulates that Kraton's statue in Teos should be crowned during the festival every year (IG XI 4, 1061, 23-4).

<sup>516</sup> The *koinon* is not mentioned by name in any of the surviving text (which is fairly lacunose), but it can be inferred from context that they are the ones who are addressed (see Boeckh CIG 3063).

τὰς προσ|όδους συνέτεινε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού|των συγχώρησιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διειληφότων ἀν|ήκειν, ὃ καὶ ἦν δίκαιον καὶ ἦν δίκαιον, IIB, 4-7). The wording here suggests that the Teian government was not appealing to a specific law that stipulated the city's ownership of such revenues, as there is no mention of a *nomos* or *graphē*. Instead, they seem to have provided Eumenes with an interpretation of a kind of natural or unwritten law, introduced by the conditional εἰ δέ τι πρὸς τὰς προσ|όδους συνέτεινε τῆς πόλεως (4-5). This is reinforced by the fact that Eumenes feels compelled to render his judgment of the interpretation as just (7).

A related dispute arose over the appointment of the panegyriarch, the official in charge of the festival's administration, who was most likely the equivalent of an agonothe<sup>517</sup>. The *koinon* seems to have brought this particular issue before Eumenes, arguing that the office was theirs to fill from their ranks, and not subject to the control of the city. Strang (2007, 293) argues that the Teians most likely did not challenge the right of the *koinon* to elect its own official, but simply expressed concerns over their activity, though this fails to explain why the *technitai* would bring that specific complaint before the king to obtain his reassurance. In fact, as suggested in the later columns from the letter, having

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<sup>517</sup> Strang 2007, 261-2 and 292. See below for further discussion of the *panegyriarch* in the festival at Teos. An inscription from Oinanda dating to the second century CE (*SEG* 38.1462) provides some sense of the powers that could be granted to a panegyriarch for the duration of a festival. The decree names three panegyriarchs who will serve during the thymelic *panegyris* for Iulius Demosthenes. They are given control of the market and are able to set prices and inspect items for sale (59-61). The festival was an occasion for heavy volumes of trading: Oinanda also removed taxes on anything sold, sacrificed, imported, or exported for the duration of the festival (87-9). See Wörrle 1998, 209-15 for a commentary and discussion of this section of the inscription.

control over the office of pangyriarch would essentially equate to having control over festival revenues, and so the *koinon*'s concern was probably valid.

We learn from a third fragment of the decree (IIA) that the Teians and the *technitai* initially tried to settle their dispute in a *koinodikion* (διοικεῖσθα[ι] δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ κοινοδίκιον ὥσπερ συνέθεντο πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὀρκιζομένων τῶν δικαστῶν ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἔμπροσθεν, 3-5). We do not have any other evidence for this particular *koinodikion*, though based on comparison to other *koinodikia* of this period, the court was likely composed of a joint body of Teian citizens and members of the *koinon* of *technitai*, a structure that recognized and maintained the legal and juridical independence of the association within Teos.<sup>518</sup> Nor is it clear from the surviving fragment whether the *koinodikion* rendered a decision on the issues brought up before (the collection of revenue and the office of the pangyriarch), though it is safe to assume that the court's decision was not favorable to the *technitai*, who brought a complaint about the actions of the judges. Whatever the *koinodikion* was disputing, Eumenes affirms its decision, noting that if the law concerning this unknown issue were in need of correction, the Teians had already shown themselves to be willing to cooperate (6-8).

#### IV.2. Eumenes' Judgment

The remaining substantial fragments of the inscription preserve Eumenes' decision on the dispute, which culminates in his call for a synoikism between the *polis* of Teos and the

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<sup>518</sup> Ager 1994, 10-11; Le Guen 2001 I 248-9; Strang 2007, 293.

Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (Aneziri 2003, D12 Cols. IIC, IIIB, and IIIA). This was a remarkable proposal, as synoikism was typically implemented to merge the populations of two independent *poleis* under one government in order to alleviate issues resulting from underpopulation or economic stress on one or more communities.<sup>519</sup> There is no other example of a proposed synoikism between a *polis* and a voluntary association, which speaks to the remarkably independent character and *polis*-like qualities of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.

In fragment IIC, which is particularly lacunose, Eumenes delineated an important authority to the panegyriarch, who was elected from the ranks of the *technitai*. Based on Wilhelm's original restorations, which have since been accepted by later editors including Le Guen and Aneziri, one of the panegyriarch's most important duties was to ensure that visiting guests receive justice if they were wronged during their visit, so that the festival itself would not be tarnished (ὅπως μ[ηδεὶς τῶ]μ παραγινομένωγ ξέ[νων] εἰς τῆμ πανή[γυριν ἐγκα]λέσας τινὶ τῶν τοιούτωγ καὶ μὴ τυχ[ῶν τῶν δικαίω]ν ἀπαλλάσσεται, μ[ηδ'] ἡ πανήγυρις κ[ατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέ]ρος διαβάλληται., 6-9). This therefore left the security and policing of the festival territory effectively in the hands of the *koinon*, rather than the city of Teos.

In addition to this measure, Eumenes reached a compromise in this fragment over the collection of revenue from arriving visitors. The artists' panegyriarchs were given

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<sup>519</sup> Synoikism was roughly equivalent to *sympoliteia*, and the terms appear to have been used interchangeably in the Hellenistic period (see Rhodes, P.J. *New Pauly* s.v. 'synoikismos' and 'sympoliteia'). Teos had previously undergone a temporary synoikism with the citizens of Lebedos at the end of the fourth century (Welles 1974, nos. 3-4, 306-2 BCE).



control of the harbors (where they would be able to collect dues and exchange currencies with visitors to the festival) while the Teians would have control of any routes of access over land (11-15). This compromise may have allowed Teos to protect its land borders and regulate visitors from Smyrna, Klazomenai, Kolophon, and other local groups that would have travelled by land.<sup>520</sup> Controlling access to their territory during a crowded festival would have been of natural concern for the Teian assembly. For the artists, control of the harbors would have allowed them to collect revenue from exchanging coinage (see discussion of the tetradrachm below) and greet visitors from more distant lands, including *theoroi* and delegates seeking the recognition and services of the *koinon*. The *panegyris*, as seen above, was the occasion during which the *koinon* announced and awarded a crown to the *demos* of the Magnesians upon proclaiming the *Leukophryeneia* as a crowned and isopythian contest.<sup>521</sup> In addition to the economic benefits, therefore, it may have been important for the panegyriarch in charge of the festivities to control access for important visitors who made the journey specifically to meet with the *koinon*.

The final piece of the solution proposed by Eumenes was a synoikism between Teos and the *koinon*, scattered details of which are partly preserved in fragment IIIA. Eumenes cited the fact that both parties were accustomed to living with one another (1-2) as part of his rationale, along with the thought that they would mutually prosper through the unification (καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πλείοσιν ἐπί[δοσις ἐτοί]μη ἀμφοτέροις ἐστίν (3-4). Be-

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<sup>520</sup> Strang 2007, 294-5.

<sup>521</sup> *I.Magnesia* 16, 29-31: ἀνα[γγεῖ]λαι [δὲ] τὸν στέφανον ἐν μὲν | τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν τεχνιτῶν τὴν ἀναγγελίαν ποιη|σαμένου τοῦ ἀγων[ο]θ[έ]του.

yond these vague arguments, we have little information for the specific ways in which the merger was intended to have taken place. Based on the rights and controls given to the panegyriarchs and the *technitai* and not to the city of Teos in IC, IIC, and especially IIIB, it seems that Eumenes did not intend for the *koinon* to be fully subsumed into the city. Some formal division between the two entities must have been allowed to remain, including the deliberative bodies that elected the magistrates for each group. However, as is clear from the first few fragments of the text, the conflict between the two groups grew out of a dispute between their two hierarchies that may have come to a head at a meeting of the *koinodikion* (IIA), the decision of which was unsatisfactory to the *koinon*. A partial synoikism, then, may have presented itself as a possible solution that could establish a clearer delineation of hierarchy through the combination of the two groups under a single common authority.

#### **IV.3. Asserting Independence: The tetradrachm of the *technitai***

The most striking illustration of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*'s wealth, autonomy, and participation in a larger cultural network during its conflict with Teos is seen in a coin issued by the association in the second century BCE:



*Obv.* Head of young Dionysos r., wearing *mitre* and crowned with ivy wreath.

*Rev.* ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΩΝ (‘‘of the artists in the entourage of Dionysos’’) on either side of filleted *thyrsos*; ivy wreath border

Weight: 16.87 g. Die Axis: ↑

**Figure 5: Silver tetradrachm (Attic standard) issued by the *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos (ca. 180-170 BCE?); Lorber & Hoover 2003, pl. 15, n.1.**

This well-preserved coin, which was minted on the Attic standard, is the only copy known and is to my knowledge the only example of a coin issued by a voluntary association, rather than a state, kingdom, or sanctuary.<sup>522</sup> Based on its provenance (a Syrian coin horde) and its stylistic similarity to ‘‘wreathed’’ coins issued by cities in the Attalid kingdom, Lorber and Hoover (2003) suggest that the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* at Teos was the issuing authority, which has been accepted by Psoma (2007).<sup>523</sup>

In their initial publication, Lorber and Hoover noted that the minting of a coin constituted another *polis*-like activity that one could attribute to the *technitai* associations,

<sup>522</sup> Lorber and Hoover initially published the coin in 2003, shortly after the publication of Le Guen’s and Aneziri’s respective monographs.

<sup>523</sup> See Lorber and Hoover 2003, 59-68 and Psoma 2007, 237 (summarizing Lorber and Hoover’s arguments). For a general overview of Attalid coin types, including the ‘‘wreathed’’ and ‘‘cistephoric’’ types, see de Callatay 2013.

in addition to those already highlighted by Le Guen and Aneziri. The coin was nevertheless puzzling: they concluded that there was “no surviving evidence that could suggest a need or a desire for a proprietary currency with which to conduct the business of the association” (2003, 65 n. 42). They therefore concluded that the coin was initially minted to serve as a token issued at a festival before serving a second life as currency on the widely-adopted Attic standard.

There is reason to connect the coin’s issue to the period when the *koinon* was in conflict with Teos over the financial administration of the *panegyris*. Lorber and Hoover connected the coin stylistically to wreathed tetradrachms issued by Myrina in the mid-second century, during a second issuing period of Attic-weight coins (ca. 155-146 BCE) by the Attalid kingdom, which provided their suggested date range for the coin of the artists. Psoma, however, notes that the artists’ home city of Teos had issued Attic-weight wreathed coins as early as the 180s BCE,<sup>524</sup> and persuasively backdates the coin to that period or shortly after, at which time the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* was in the middle of its protracted dispute with Teos during the reign of Eumenes II.

In all likelihood, the artists minted such coins for use at the *panegyris*, the festival explicitly under their control. As early as the late fourth century, states and sanctuaries issued coins that celebrated and were intended for use during local festivals.<sup>525</sup> Examples

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<sup>524</sup> Psoma 2007a, fig. 3.

<sup>525</sup> As Psoma notes (2007a, 243), festivals were opportune venues for several financial exchanges, including the buying and selling of slaves, livestock, and luxury goods. Thus, many festival organizers instituted taxes on participants and attendees in addition to enforcing the use of a standard-issue currency. See Knoepfler 1988 for an overview of such financial activities and controls at festivals.

include festival coins for Athena Nikephoros issued by Pergamon and commemorative coins issued by the Delphic Amphictyony and Eleusis.<sup>526</sup> Typically, such coins were minted on a widely-accepted standard so that they could serve both a commemorative purpose for the holder and have a second life as currency to promote the festival in economic transactions.<sup>527</sup> By adopting a widely-accepted standard, then, states and sanctuaries also ensured that their commemorative and celebratory coins could see wider circulation throughout the Greek world.

Any conclusions about the intent of this coin issue must be tentative, as we have only one example, but the artists' choice of the Attic standard for their coin was a highly significant one and suggests that their goal was to put it and others into wider circulation. In effect, the circulation of their coinage would have promoted their wider value as festival participants and organizers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. If we accept Psoma's earlier dating for the coin, then it was issued at a time when the Attalid kingdom adopted the cistephoric standard soon after the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BCE. Cistephoric coins issued by the kingdom were roughly 25% lighter than an Attic standard tetradrachm. Thus, a direct exchange of a standard tetradrachm for a cistephoric coin resulted in a net profit in precious metal for the Attalid kingdom and subsequently created a closed economic system defined by the circulation of the new coins in Attalid territory,

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<sup>526</sup> Psoma 2007a, 238-41.

<sup>527</sup> The Amphictyonic Council, for example, issued coinage on the Aeginetan standard from 336-334 BCE to help fund building activity at the temple and sanctuary of Apollo (Psoma 2007, figs. 4 and 5). In the second century, the Council issued a new set of coins, this time on the Attic standard (see Psoma 2007b).

which included Teos. We should therefore understand the artists' choice of the Attic standard for wider circulation to be economically and politically significant, as they would not have profited from direct exchange, but instead benefited by having their coinage reach wider circulation.

While I do not challenge Lorber and Hoover's conclusion that the Ionian-Hellaspontine *koinon* initially minted and issued the coin, I think it is significant that the coin itself does not indicate any individual association of *technitai*. Rather, its legend simply refers to ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΩΝ ("of the artists in the entourage of Dionysos"), a title used by all four of the regional associations throughout their history. Indeed, nothing in the coin's iconography, from the filleted *thyrsos* to the obverse head of Dionysos, would have allowed an ancient viewer to identify one of the regional associations as the one that issued the coin. The one exception may have been the "wreath" of ivy on the reverse that Lorber and Hoover stylistically connected to Attalid coinage. Furthermore, the fact that the coins were minted at an Attic weight meant that they would have potentially circulated throughout the Aegean to areas where different associations were active in promoting and organizing local festivals, including the mainland, where the legend would most likely call to mind the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* that was most active in the area at the time.

We might imagine, then, that this coin, although minted and issued by a single association most likely for use in a local festival, was intended to symbolize and express the value offered by *all* of the associations that had a long history of collaboration with

one another, particularly the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina*. In its secondary use in a widely-accepted currency, the coin would have served as a general advertisement of the value offered by the artists' associations, who could elevate the status of local festivals by promoting them to the *poleis*, kingdoms, and sanctuaries of the Hellenistic Mediterranean and by ensuring an international slate of performers in their musical and dramatic *agōnes*. By issuing such a coin at a local festival under their control, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* advertised their place in a larger network of cultural capital that they offered to cities such as Magnesia and Teos who hoped to gain international distinction by attracting the artists to their festivals. At a time when the Teians sought to control their annual festival and Eumenes proposed a synoikism that would directly threaten their ability to act so independently, such a coin would therefore symbolize the artists' resistance to falling under the political control of a single city.

#### **IV.4. *Stasis* between Teos and the *technitai* — Rome enters the picture**

However beneficial synoikism might have been for both parties in the dispute, Eumenes failed to provide a permanent solution to the ongoing problems between the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* and Teos. It is quite possible that one or both parties rejected the proposal, as we have no evidence for the coexistence of both groups under a single hierarchy.

Even if they had, the solution was impermanent, as Strabo informs us:

μετὰ δὲ Κολοφῶνα ὄρος Κοράκιον καὶ νησίον ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, εἰς ὃ διανηχομένης τίκτειν τὰς ἐλάφους πεπιστεύκασιν. εἴτα Λέβεδος διέχουσα Κολοφῶνος ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν· ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος καὶ κατοικία τῶν ἐν

Ἰωνία μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐν ᾗ πανήγυρίς τε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ' ἔτος συντελοῦνται τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἐν Τέῳ δὲ ὄκουν πρότερον τῇ ἐφεξῆς πόλει τῶν Ἰόνων, ἐμπεσούσης δὲ στάσεως εἰς Ἑφεσον κατέφυγον· Ἀττάλου δ' εἰς Μυόννησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντος μεταξὺ Τέῳ καὶ Λεβέδου, πρεσβεύονται Τήιοι δεόμενοι Ῥωμαίων μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπιτειχιζομένην σφίσι τὴν Μυόννησον, οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν εἰς Λέβεδον δεξαμένων τῶν Λεβεδίων ἀσμένως διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν αὐτοὺς ὀλιγανδρίαν. καὶ Τέως δὲ Λεβέδου διέχει ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, μεταξὺ δὲ νῆσος Ἀσπίς, οἱ δ' Ἀρκόνησον καλοῦσι· καὶ ἡ Μυόννησος δὲ ἐφ' ὕψους χερρονησίζοντος κατοικεῖται. (Strabo 14.1.29)

After Kolophon is the mountain Korakion and the sacred island of Artemis, to where some have believed that deer swim across to give birth. In that place is Lebedos which lay one hundred and twenty (*stadia*) away from Kolophon. In that place is the *synodos* of the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the dwelling of those in Ionia as far as the Hellespont, in which the *panegyris* and competitions are organized every year to Dionysos. They used to dwell in Teos before, the next city of the Ionians, but having incited a civil war, they fled to Ephesos. When Attalos had settled them in Myonnesos, between Teos and Lebedos, and Teian ambassadors begged the Romans not to overlook that Myonnesos was being fortified against them, they (the Romans) moved them over to Lebedos, who received them happily because they were underpopulated.

The only indication of when these events occurred comes from Strabo's mention of Attalos II, which must date this conflict to sometime after 158 BCE. Strabo's description is one of an escalated conflict marked by open violence, *stasis*, rather than a protracted legal battle known to us from Eumenes' letter. We have no evidence outside of this *testimonium* for the artists' stay in Ephesos, Myonnesos, or Lebedos.

The Teians' concerns over the artists' settlement in Myonnesos, an island just off the coast from their city and a notorious pirate haven, were likely valid.<sup>528</sup> Their involvement of the Romans in the resettlement of the *koinon* at Lebedos suggests a date

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<sup>528</sup> Strang 2007, 302.



after the revolt of Aristonikos in 129 BCE, when Rome extended its *auctoritas* to the territories of the Attalid kingdom.

This event marks yet another important turning point in the life of the *koinon*, this time under expanding Roman rule, which was first felt only a few decades before when Mummius had declared the *asylia* of the Ionian and mainland artists in two letters inscribed on the same stone at Thebes. At Pergamon, the artists loyal to the cult of the Attalids and Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* appear to have temporarily split from the Ionian-Hellaspontine *koinon* during this period of turbulence for the *koinon* based at Teos.<sup>529</sup> This is evident in an inscription dated to ca. 129 BCE from Elaia, the port city of Pergamon, which records a treaty that the city reached with the Romans after the revolt of Aristonikos (*IGR* IV 1692, 39-43).<sup>530</sup> After the decree ratifying the agreement, Elaia offers prayers for the health and safety of their new Roman allies:

...ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τε  
40 ἡμετέρου δήμου καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ κοι-  
νοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον τεχνι-  
τῶν μεῖναι ἡμῖν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τὴν  
Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν...

...to the good fortune and safety of our *dēmos* and that of the Romans and of the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*, that our friendship and alliance with the Romans remain for all time...

The presence of the artists devoted to the Pergamene cult in Elaia has puzzled some scholars. Robert (1984, 495-6) and Rigsby (1998, 127-30) both suggest that the

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<sup>529</sup> In a letter from Sulla (Sherk 1984, no. 62), the Roman general refers to the *koinon* by its full title, including its affiliation to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*. See below.

<sup>530</sup> The text itself refers to Aristonikos' revolt in lines 15-16.

*koinon* may have supported Aristonikos during his revolt and were subsequently expelled to Elaia, where they and the Elaians were eventually forced to reconcile with the Romans. Le Guen, on the other hand, has repeatedly argued that the artists from Pergamon were simply taking part in a local festival at Elaia, and shows that the evidence does not allow us to speculate safely that the artists' presence marked a complete resettlement away from the capital.<sup>531</sup> Strang (2007) nevertheless prefers the earlier arguments based on the apparent division between the Teian and Pergamene branches, suggesting that the artists in the capital experienced political instability as much as their colleagues in Teos, and that Elaia chose to include the artists in the ceremony at the head of the prayers to the Romans. Such prominence in the text, he feels, "argues for a familiar presence in the town and differs from the invited participation of the artists at such festivals as the *Leukophryeneia* in Magnesia on the Maeandros" (303). This familiar presence, however, should not be surprising or significant in its own right, given that Elaia had a close relationship with Pergamon as its main seaport. Rather, it is my understanding that the artists occupied an important intermediate position between Elaia, the Attalid court, and its Roman benefactors. Such was the case in Teos, where the *koinon* had helped the once-devastated city obtain *asylia* from the Seleukids, the cities of Crete, and other powers in the Eastern Mediterranean. Such was also the case for the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* who exchanged honors with Ariarathes V and, later, the Romans on behalf of their resident city.

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<sup>531</sup> Le Guen 1997 and 2001 I 273-82.

## V. Summary

The complicated history of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* reflects the turbulent history of Asia Minor during the third and second centuries BCE, when the region exchanged hands between the Seleukid and Attalid kingdoms and gradually fell under the expansion of Roman rule through diplomatic relations and successive conquests. From the earliest inscriptions that attest to their activity in the mid-third century BCE, it is apparent that the association owed its credibility to, and modeled its activity and institutional model on, the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, which had important contacts with the sanctuary of Delphi and several mainland contests.

These contacts with the mainland artists and with the Delphic oracle formed part of the *koinon*'s appeal near the end of the third century to local cities like Magnesia on the Maeander, who sought to boost their *Leukophryeneia* to international distinction and draw the attention and resources of the political elites of their day to their city's most important cult. At Iasos in the mid-2nd century, the *koinon* provided assurance for its services by offering to fine its own members who failed to appear at a performance to which they were obligated to attend, a function typically reserved for states and their agonomethetes. Thus, they reinforced their own credibility just as the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* had for local festivals such as the *Agrionia* in Thebes or the *Mouseia* at Thespiai.

Teos, a city in shambles after a devastating pirate attack in the second half of the third century, saw the utility of the *koinon* for its own political purposes, and accordingly offered favorable terms to attract the artists to reside in their city. The subsequent cam-

paign for *asylia* shows that the artists were integral to the effort for security and recognition. The terms for *asylia* granted by Delphi, the Amphictyony, and the Aitolians on the Treasury of the Athenians were explicitly modeled on those previously granted to the artists themselves. Further, the Cretan documents hint at an important diplomatic role played by skilled musicians and performers who emphasized the mythical bonds between the Cretan city of Priansos and Teos through the story of Dionysos.

Following the Peace of Apameia in 188 BCE, the royal patronage of the Attalids through the cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* saw the creation of a larger *koinon* based in Teos and in Pergamon. The most important figure at the center of this growth was the aulos-player and *synagonistēs*, Kraton, son of Zotichos, from Chalcedon. Kraton's elite upbringing and success as a performer extended his personal network to the court at Pergamon, where he owned a house next to the palace and had enough money to establish a continuing fund for the city's festival performances under the auspices of the *Attalistai*, a religious organization devoted to the royal cult of the Attalids. The connection between the *Attalistai* and the *koinon* of *technitai* is readily apparent in the years of correspondence between Kraton and the association, recorded at both Teos and Pergamon and some of which is dated by the officials of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.

While it is fairly easy to identify and trace the utility of the *technitai* from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* to various states and kingdoms, the independence and autonomy of the *koinon* remained important throughout the association's existence, and this eventually came to a head with the financial administration of the *panegyris* at Teos.

Though the festival had long been run exclusively by the *technitai*, who elected the panyriarch to run its festivities and manage its finances, the city of Teos claimed proprietary control over the profits that came from the festival celebrated in their territory. Eumenes' decision in favor of the Teians, which included a proposal for synoikism (the only one known between a city and a voluntary association) directly threatened the *koinon*'s institutional identity, which was rooted in their established international network in which they were a powerful legitimator of cultural distinction. This identity was most vividly and boldly expressed with the issuance of an Attic standard tetradrachm by "the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos", which was intended to enter a wide circulation just as the artists themselves circulated to offer the value of their performances and organization at local festivals.

The deterioration of relations between the Teians and the *koinon* was probably gradual, rather than issuing from a single instance of the Teians attempting to appropriate festival revenue, though much of the ongoing dispute remains hidden from us in the existing record. In his letter, Eumenes refers to previous correspondence and *koinodikia* that attempted to find a peaceful resolution to the ongoing difficulties centered on the *panyris*. The issues may have been rooted in the early implicit co-identification of the *koinon* with Teos during the city's aggressive campaign for *asylia*. It is also possible that with the introduction of Attalid ruler cult to the city and the *koinon*, the two entities continued to merge through shared officials and with the induction of Teian citizens to the *koinon* over successive generations.

With the expansion of Roman power came a new and important chapter for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*. By the end of the first century BCE, the four regional associations of *technitai* would be merged into one ecumenical association of “sacred victors” centered in Rome, who continued to be active in Asia Minor, as seen in a recently-discovered inscription that records a lengthy correspondence between the artists and the emperor Hadrian at Alexandria Troas (Petzl and Schwertheim 2006).<sup>532</sup> This transformation from a regional to an ecumenical association will be left to a future project, though its anticipation in Sulla’s eastern campaign will be taken up in the conclusion to this dissertation.

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<sup>532</sup> Hadrian also wrote to the artists at Athens (see Geagan 1972 and Oliver 1974).

## **Conclusions**

This study has examined the history and development of the associations of *technitai* by seeking first to explain how and why artists formed such powerful associations and, secondly, what socio-political role they played in the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic period. From the fourth century BCE, the cultural capital of performing artists and theatre professionals was augmented by two important factors. One was an increased public acclaim for performers seen in both the introduction of distinct prizes for actors along with the addition of old tragedies and comedies to the program of the Athenian *Dionysia*. These additions highlighted the skills of the performers alongside the poets and *choregoi* who had traditionally received prizes and distinction at the festival. During this same period, we also begin to see an increase in the wealth of successful actors and in performers' self-identification on their own private monuments. During this same period, actors began to play a significant political role as ambassadors on important missions, such as those sent to Philip II.

Royal patronage of artists was the other crucial factor that contributed to the growth of the artists' cultural capital in the fourth century, particularly in Macedonia where the Argead dynasty gradually Hellenized its court in order to display its cultural affinity with the Greek world. The court's accumulation of cultural capital through a collection of international artistic talent informed Alexander's practice of attracting performers to his cortège in his eastern campaign. During this campaign, he held several grand festivals with artists from throughout the Greek world as a show of his power and reach.

His entourage of artists, nicknamed the *Alexandrokolakes* (“Alexander flatterers”), were the closest analogue to the later powerful associations known from the Hellenistic period: the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, the Athenian *synodos*, the Ptolemaic artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the Lagid dynasty, and the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.

By the third century BCE, when voluntary associations were on the rise in the eastern Mediterranean, artists held greater political influence that was owed to the cultural capital they continued to receive from public acclaim and royal patronage. These associations fulfilled the role of cultural mediators between cities, kings, and sanctuaries in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>533</sup> They did so by serving not just as performers but also as promoters and organizers of new and reformed festivals, sending their own *theoroi* and exchanging embassies to proclaim and attend contests. In so doing, the associations of *technitai* increased the prestige of local festivals through their diplomatic connections, thereby elevating festivals to higher international distinction.

Thus, from a socio-political view, each of these associations of *technitai* articulated distinct cultural networks based on their involvement with local festivals. These networks often overlapped, and as a result the associations occasionally collaborated or competed with one another for distinction. For example, the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina*, both of which had received the privilege of *asylia* from the Delphic Amphictyony on the same terms (*F.D.* III.3.218 B, 6-8, ca. 237/6 BCE), participated together in the Amphictyonic *Sotēria* at Delphi, the *Mouseia* at Thespiiai, and the *Agrio-*

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<sup>533</sup> On artists and athletes as “cultural mediators”, see van Nijf 2011.



*nia* at Thebes and so brought panhellenic distinction to these local contests. In sharp contrast to the cooperative spirit of these two regional associations, the Athenian *synodos* formed exclusive relationships with foreign elites such as Ariarathes V, for whom they instituted a new festival at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 20-46, 163-130 BCE), and also played a prominent role in the second-century Athenian *Pythaid* festivals at Delphi, which celebrated the city's unique and exclusive relationship with the sanctuary and the cult of Apollo. These second-century celebrations were part of the city's bid to reassert its place as the cultural metropolis of the Greek world, which placed the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* at odds with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*. The two mainland associations subsequently fought a long and protracted legal battle over the control of local mainland festivals, forcing the Romans to intervene on numerous occasions before they ultimately sided with their Athenian allies by fining the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* ten talents for obstructing the Athenian artists (*F.D.* III.2.70, 112/1 BCE).

The Ptolemaic association, which was only active in the territories of the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt and Cyprus, formed its own distinct cultural network, at the center of which Alexandria was the cosmopolitan capital. Much like the Macedonian dynasties of the late fourth century, the Ptolemies collected international talent from throughout the Greek world for their association as part of the dynasty's cosmopolitan display of power. This was seen most famously in the procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, in which the Ptolemaic *technitai* play a prominent role in leading the Dionysian portion of the procession as part of a nexus of symbolism linking the Ptolemies to Alexander through the

mythological eastern conquests of Dionysos. The branches of the association in Upper Egypt and Cyprus served as an extension of the court to its elite subjects, as evidenced by the honorific decrees issued by the artists in return for goodwill shown towards the royal family. In occupying this mediating position, these branches adopted the political language of the court itself, publicly declaring certain benefactors as “friends” (*philoi*) of the *technitai* (OGIS 51, 40-6). Thus, through their euergetical relationships, they extended the cultural reach of the Ptolemaic court while the association in Alexandria displayed the cosmopolitan appeal and power of the court in its collection of talent from far afield.

In addition to its ongoing collaboration with the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* received royal patronage from the Seleukids and Attalids and formed a close connection with Teos, which had granted the *koinon* considerable rights and privileges in order to settle the artists in their city. The cultural capital of the artists and their network served the political ends of the Teians, who sought guarantees of *asylia* from several international bodies after a devastating pirate attack on their city. The Aitolians, Amphictyony, and Delphi (F.D. III.2.134) granted the Teians the same protections that were previously given to the artists. This shows that the Teians had successfully exchanged financial capital for the cultural capital wielded by the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*, which was then exchanged for the political protection they desired.

The Attalid court procured the cultural capital of the *koinon* after the Peace of Apameia in 188 BCE, after which the *koinon* expanded to include a branch in Pergamon devoted to the Attalid cult of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* (“the Ruler”). The history of this

amalgamated association is best perceived through the career of its most famous member, Kraton, son of Zotichos, whose close ties with the Attalid court highlight the importance of the artists to the Attalid dynasty. The *koinon*'s subsequent fallout with Teos, technically centered on the collection of revenue at the annual *panegyris* organized by the artists, threatened the independence of the artists, who sought to control their own cultural capital as expressed in their issuance of an Attic standard tetradrachm in the mid-second century BCE.

The different uses of cultural capital by the associations as they formed their cultural networks speaks to the continuing vitality and vibrancy of the Hellenistic festival industry. As they had in the Classical period, athletic, musical, and dramatic festivals were at the heart of the construction and negotiation of communal identity in the Hellenistic world.<sup>534</sup> As this period saw an expansion into a “wider imagined community of Greeks” in the wake of Alexander’s conquests,<sup>535</sup> new festivals began to emerge, culminating in the so-called “agonistic explosion” of the Roman imperial period.<sup>536</sup> Cities, kings, and sanctuaries sought subsequently to establish or reaffirm their place and importance in the new *oikoumene* by instituting new and reinventing old contests.

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<sup>534</sup> van Nijf 1999 and 2013. At the level of a single city in the Classical period, Goldhill (1987) famously articulated this in the case of the Athenian City *Dionysia* when he argued that the pre- and post-performance rituals of the festival presented the city’s “civic ideology” to its audience as a backdrop to the tragedy and comedy competitions. An even older and geographically broader tradition can be seen in the panhellenic festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmos, and Nemea, venues where various and occasionally shared ideas of Greek identity or “hellenicity” were created and contested since the Archaic period. See Hall 2002, esp ch. 5 on Delphi and the Amphictyony.

<sup>535</sup> van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 98.

<sup>536</sup> Robert 1984.

In this larger picture, we should understand the *technitai* associations to be active catalysts, rather than passive byproducts, of the agonistic explosion in its early stages. From their early accumulation of cultural capital in the fourth century to their promotion of new and reformed festivals in the third through first centuries, the *technitai* contributed directly to the growth of festival culture in the Hellenistic Mediterranean.<sup>537</sup> In the increasingly crowded field of dramatic and musical festivals in the emerging post-Alexander *oikoumenē*, the groups also served a function akin to sanctioning bodies, as they were often some of the earliest groups to recognize and accept certain festivals as crowned or elevated in other forms.<sup>538</sup> Their continued promotion and organization of contests across the centuries speaks to the enduring value of the artists' cultural capital and to the associations' integral role in the expansion of new and reformed festivals in the Hellenistic period.

The fact that the *technitai* were so integral to this process in festival organization and the articulation of cultural networks bespeaks their important socio-political role in the Greek world, a role which would eventually be cemented under the central authority of the Roman empire. By the Julio-Claudian period, we see the first evidence for an association titled “the crowned sacred victors in the entourage of Dionysos and their fellow

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<sup>537</sup> Cf. van Nijf 2011, 231: “On the one hand, therefore, these associations depended on a globalizing situation, as it was only in a global world that they could ply their trade. But, I would argue, they were not just minor beneficiaries of this development; they were also among the main (cultural) agents in making this process of cultural — and political — globalization possible.”

<sup>538</sup> See, e.g., the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*'s claim to be the “first” to recognize the *Mouseia* as a crowned competition (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 457, 59, ca. 225 BCE).

competitors from the *oikoumene*”.<sup>539</sup> From the end of the Roman republic and the early principate, this type of ecumenical title was common for athletic associations as well, as may be seen, e.g., in a letter from Marc Antony to the *koinon* of Greeks in Asia (Sherk 1969, no. 57, 42-1 or 33-2 BCE),<sup>540</sup> all while the term *oikoumene* itself became a *terminus technicus* that was symbolic of Rome’s dominion over the (Greek) inhabited world.<sup>541</sup>

The socio-political relationship between the Roman empire and these athletic and artistic associations has yet to be treated in a full-length monograph and remains a *desideratum* for the field. It is my hope that the work of this study will lay the groundwork for such a future project by providing an important context to the rise of these associations in the emerging cultural *koinon* of the Hellenistic period. Therefore, looking ahead, this study concludes with an epilogue that contextualizes the appearance of these ecumenical associations with the earlier interactions between Rome and the regional associations of *technītai*.

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<sup>539</sup> <τοῖς> ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερoneύκαις στεφανεύταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς, BGU IV 1074 = *Pap. Agon.* 1, 2 (43 CE).

<sup>540</sup> The letter grants privileges from Marc Antony to “the *synodos* of crowned and sacred victors from the *oikoumene*” (τῆς συνόδου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερoneύκων καὶ στεφανειτῶν, 8-10). From the title alone, it is unclear whether this association comprised artists, athletes, or a mix of both. The lack of any reference to Dionysos and the fact that Marc Antony was approached by an athletic trainer (ἀλείπτου, 7) from the association suggests that it was at least partly, if not fully, composed of athletes. See Pleket 1973, 200-201 for further discussion.

<sup>541</sup> See van Nijf 2011, 233 and n. 76 and 77 for examples, including Polyb. 1.1.1, which foregrounds the subject of his work as an explanation of Rome’s *archē* over the *oikoumene*. See Pleket 1973, 199-200 on the use of the term *oikoumene* in the names of athletic associations.

## Epilogue: Rome and the *technītai*

When Mummius granted exemptions from liturgies, billeting, taxes, and tribute to the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina* in the wake of his victory and the establishment of a Roman province in Macedonia (*IG* VII 2413-2414, 5-6, 146 BCE), it was a watershed moment in the history of the associations. Though the two *koina* already had an older history of cooperation stretching as far back as the mid-third century BCE with the *Sotēria* at Delphi, these new assurances from Mummius integrated a new Roman political authority at the center of their cultural networks.

The centrality of Roman authority for the three northern Aegean associations was reaffirmed in the last quarter of the second century. Roman authorities issued two separate *senatus consulta* during the lengthy dispute between the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos*: one during the consulship of Publius Cornelius (138 or 134 BCE) before the case subsequently went into arbitration before the proconsul Cnaeus Cornelius Sisenna at Pella in 118/7 BCE, after which a second and final *senatus consultum* in 112/1 BCE ruled in favor of the Athenian artists by upholding a fine of ten talents against the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* (*F.D.* III.2.70).<sup>542</sup> Given Rome's alliance with Athens during the mid- to late-second century, it was no surprise that the Athenian *synodos* openly prayed for the augmentation of Roman power during their ongoing legal dispute in the *Paian* of Limenios during the *Pythaid* of 128 BCE (*F.D.* III.2.138, 39-40).

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<sup>542</sup> See the fuller discussion of this case above (Ch. 2).

As Roman power continued to expand eastward in the second century, it gradually subsumed the other regional associations under its authority. After the revolt of Aristonikos, Roman control extended to the territories of the Attalid kingdom, which included the home of the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*. Thus, the *koinon* of *technītai* devoted to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn* in Pergamon, which had split from the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* in Teos, joined Elaia's appeal for peace with the Romans after Aristonikos' defeat in 129 BCE (*IGR* IV 1692, 39-43), and the Teians successfully appealed to the Romans, rather than the Pergamene kingdom, to move the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* from Myonnesos to Lebedos (Strabo 14.1.29).

As for the Ptolemaic association, its independence would continue at least into the early first century BCE at Cyprus under Ptolemy IX Soter II (*OGIS* 164, 105-88 BCE) and may have extended until Rome's annexation of Egypt after Octavian's victory over Marc Antony. It is ultimately difficult to say when the artists in Egypt would have joined the "worldwide" association, but given that *BGU* IV 1074 survives from Oxyrhynchos, it is almost certain that they were part of the group by the Julio-Claudian period. In order to contextualize more precisely the union of these regional networks under Roman rule, it is necessary to take a closer look at the interactions between the regional associations and Sulla, a figure whose conquest, like that of Mummius, was another watershed moment in the political history of the eastern Mediterranean.

### **Sulla and the *technītai***

In 88/7 BCE, shortly after the beginning of the First Mithridatic War, Athens shifted its allegiance from Rome to Mithridates VI Eupator, as news of the king's early victories against the Romans in Pontus and Bithynia reached the mainland. The shift was formalized when the city sent a delegation to the king led by Athenion, a philosopher from the Lyceum who was a leader of the pro-Mithridates faction and who promised that the king would bring much-needed debt relief to the city.<sup>543</sup> Upon Athenion's return, the city welcomed him with a grand procession, in which the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* took part:

συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς τὴν θεάν ταύτην ἄνδρες γυναῖκες παῖδες, τὰ κάλλιστα προσδοκῶντες παρὰ Μιθριδάτου, ὅποτε Ἀθηνίων ὁ πένης καὶ τὰς ἐρανικὰς ποιησάμενος ἀκροάσεις διὰ τὸν βασιλέα σιληπορδῶν διὰ τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως πομπεύει. συνήνησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχὰς τε καὶ σπονδὰς. (Poseidonios *FGrHist* 87 F 36 = Athen. 5.215b)

And so men, women, and children were hurrying together to see this spectacle, expecting the finest things from Mithridates, seeing as how the penniless Athenion, having once taken collections (for his) lectures, (now) because of the king paraded vulgarly through the countryside and the city. The artists in the entourage of Dionysos also came to meet him, inviting “the messenger of the New Dionysos”<sup>544</sup> to the public feast and to the prayers and libations that attended it.

The shift in alliance by both the city and its association of artists is surprising and somewhat difficult to explain.<sup>545</sup> As discussed in chapter two, they had benefited immensely

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<sup>543</sup> Habicht 1999, 300.

<sup>544</sup> On Mithridates as *Neos Dionysos*, see Santangelo 2007, 36 n. 16 and MacGing 1986, 90.

<sup>545</sup> Habicht 1999, 301: “Nevertheless the Athenians' break with Rome is not easy to understand, given that shortly before, the relationship between the two states had appeared sincerely cordial. The scarcity and brevity of contemporary sources do not permit a truly satisfactory explanation.”



from their alliance with Rome, which had returned Delos to Athenian control in 167 BCE and delivered a legal victory for the *synodos* of *technitai* against the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* in 112/1 BCE, all of which had been celebrated in the late second-century *Pythaiads* at Delphi. It was, perhaps, suggestive of the instability of the time — though Rome had done so much for the artists, the early victories of Mithridates may have forced them to consider appealing to a new guarantor for their privileges and protections.<sup>546</sup>

Whatever their motives, the city and the *synodos* grossly miscalculated the Roman army's ability to retaliate, and the results of Sulla's invasion of the mainland not long thereafter were disastrous for the city and the association. The last text that attests the Athenian *synodos* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1338, 77/6 BCE) is an inscription from Eleusis in which the association honors its *epimeletes*, Philemon, for financing the reconstruction of the *temenos* and altar to Demeter and Kore at the sanctuary. The decree notes that the celebrations

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<sup>546</sup> Tamura 1988, 174. There is some disagreement over whether the artists felt pressured by the city to welcome Athenion in such grand fashion and forsake their favorable relationship with Rome. Aneziri (2003, 48) argues that the artists and the city of Athens simply had common interests in supporting the king of Pontus during turbulent times, particularly in the wake of the early Roman defeats. Le Guen, on the other hand, interprets this episode as evidence that the *synodos* was effectively a part of the Athenian state, and therefore forced to hold the same alliances, even against their Roman benefactors (2001 II, 15-16).

once performed by the *technitai* had been interrupted “for many years” (10-14), which was almost certainly due to damage to the sanctuary caused by Sulla’s forces.<sup>547</sup>

Despite these early financial hardships, the fact that the *synodos* continued to exist and was able to raise revenue in the wake of their city’s destruction may reflect some mercy from Sulla, who recognized the political value of Greek festival culture. Like other Roman generals before him, he participated in local Greek festivals during his time spent in Greece in order to legitimate Roman rule.<sup>548</sup> For example, after restoring Praxiteles’ statue of Eros to its original sanctuary at Thespiiai (*SEG* 47.518), the city’s *Erotideia* festival was reconstituted as the *Erotideia Romaia*.<sup>549</sup> Similarly, after Sulla granted tax-free land to Oropos, the local *Amphiareia* festival was reconstituted as the *Amphiareia Romaia*, and introduced a declaration of Roman victory (εὐαγγέλια τῆς Ῥωμαίων νίκης) to the festival.<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1338 (78/7 BCE), 10-14: ...ὧν ἐπισχ[εθέντω]ν ἐπὶ ἔτη καὶ πλείονα καὶ τοῦ τε βομοῦ καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἀναιρε[θέντ]ος διὰ τὴν κοινὴν περίστασιν Φιλήμων ἐπιμελητῆς τὸ [τρ]ί[τον] | γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Αἰσχραίου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ ἀνεκτ[ή]σα | [το τὰς] παρτίους ταῖς θεαῖς θυσίας... “(the sacrifices and paeans) having been stopped for many years and the altar and *temenos* having been destroyed because of the public crisis, Philemon, being the *epimeletes* for the [thir]d time in the year of the archonship of Aischraios, revived the ancestral sacrifices to the goddesses (Demeter and Kore).” Apart from this decree, we have no other evidence that the Athenian *synodos* had any formal involvement with the Eleusinian mysteries. The κοινὴν περίστασιν (“public crisis”) in line 12 seems to refer to the conflict with Sulla and the ensuing destruction and slow recovery of the city, which may have included severe financial hardships, as this decree suggests a ten year period between Sulla’s destruction of the city and sanctuary and its eventual repair through the benefaction of the *synodos* (Le Guen 2001 I, 126).

<sup>548</sup> See van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 106-8 for a summary, which provides the examples I discuss here. In Athens, a sign of reconciliation may be seen in the institution of the *Sulleia* games (see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1039, 57, 85-78 BCE).

<sup>549</sup> See Knoepfler 1997 on the Praxiteles statue of Eros, which must have been returned to Thespiiai before 70 BCE, when it was admired by Cicero during his visit to the sanctuary (*Verr.* 2.4.4).

<sup>550</sup> See, e.g., *IG* VII 417 + 415, 68, 80-50 BCE.

Like Mummius before him, Sulla's travels and administrative duties brought him in contact with the *technitai*. An anecdote preserved in Plutarch's biography reports that the general travelled to Aidepsos in Euboea to visit its hot springs and ease a case of gout. During his sojourn, he fraternized with "*technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos" (συνδημερέων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις, Plut. *Sull*, 26.1-5). As Plutarch does not specify which particular association is meant, any of the three northern Aegean *koina* or *synodoi* is possible.

We also know that, at some point during his time in Asia Minor, Sulla was approached by the reunited *koinon* of artists from Ionia and the Hellespont and those dedicated to Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*, who successfully petitioned him for a renewal of their privileges and exemptions (Sherk *RDGE* no. 49, ca. 84 and 81 BCE). In two letters, written on opposite sides of a white marble stele in Kos, Sulla addressed the Koans (Side A) and the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (Side B) concerning the privileges that were to be maintained for the artists. Side B appears to preserve the text of an earlier letter based on Sulla's reference to his council (1-2), whereas he identifies himself as dictator at the top of Side A (3).<sup>551</sup> In his letter to the artists, he affirms all privileges, honors, and exemptions from liturgies that were previously granted to the artists of the *koinon*,<sup>552</sup> and does so out of respect for Dionysos, the Muses, and the *politeia* of the artists (3-6). The rest of the badly damaged letter seems to have specified the exemptions and privileges that were

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<sup>551</sup> See the discussion of the relative dating of the documents in Sherk 1969, 265.

<sup>552</sup> These seem to refer to the privileges that were granted by Mummius, who also exempted the artists and their families from liturgies, conscription, billeting and taxes (*IG* VII 2413-2414).

granted. The artists were exempted from every liturgy (πάσης τε λειτουργίας ἄλλε[ιτούργητοι], 9), from conscription into the army (στρατείας τε, 10), from paying taxes ([εἰσφορὰν ἢ δαπά]|νας εἰσφέρειτε, 10-11), from being forced to pay for provisioning (παροχῆς ἕνεκέν, 12), and from being forced to house anyone, possibly including Roman soldiers (τινὰ δέχεσθ[αι], 13).

Though we cannot say for certain, it is possible that the artists' claims to these exemptions may have put them at odds with the Koans, which necessitated the assurance of their privileges from Sulla and Rome in the form of a public inscription decreed by the Roman senate.<sup>553</sup> Thus, in his second letter (Side A), Sulla notes that he met with an ambassador from the *koinon*, a certain Alexander of Laodikea whom he calls one of his *philoι* (4-8). We learn from Sulla's summary of events that Alexander had been sent as an ambassador to the Roman senate, where he received a *senatus consultum* to publish Sulla's guarantees of privileges on a stele in Kos (11-12). The dictator then specifies that it must be placed in "the most distinguished location" (ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ ἀναθή|[σεσθαι], 9-10), the exact placement of which he leaves to the judgment of the Koans (13-15). The resolution of this episode speaks to the central authority that Sulla had over the affairs of Kos and, moreover, the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* during his time in Asia. His crippling fine of 20,000 talents against the province of Asia after the war most likely prompted the *koinon*'s initial embassy to secure their rights and privileges, which were

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<sup>553</sup> Sherk (1966) hypothesizes that the artists wished to erect multiple copies of Sulla's letter guaranteeing their protections in multiple cities, as there is no evidence that the artists were resident in Kos at this time. No other copies of this letter have been found.

guaranteed by Rome since Mummius' victory in the Achaean war. In effect, Roman authority had come to replace the Delphic Amphictyony as the primary guarantor of security and exemptions for the associations of the northern Aegean.

Sulla's interactions with multiple associations after his victory demonstrate that the eastward expansion of Roman rule continued to integrate the various associations under a new single authority. By the Julio-Claudian era, this led to the emergence of a "worldwide" association of artists, first attested in a letter from the emperor Claudius confirming privileges that were awarded earlier by Augustus (*BGU IV 1074 = Pap.Agon.* 1, 1-3, 43 CE). The new group called themselves "the crowned sacred victors in the entourage of Dionysos and their fellow competitors from the *oikoumene*" (<τοῖς> ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονεῖκαις στεφανεῖταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς). The circumstances of the foundation of this group are unknown, as this text is the earliest evidence for them,<sup>554</sup> but it is clear that they had existed during the reign of Augustus if not earlier. They perhaps secured honors from Octavian and Rome soon after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra's forces at Actium.<sup>555</sup>

The emergence of "worldwide" associations of artists and athletes, patronized and protected by Roman emperors,<sup>556</sup> speaks to the degree to which the eastern Mediter-

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<sup>554</sup> The text of this decree from 43 CE is a later copy from Oxyrhynchos, and was part of a legal dossier of a local secretary claiming tax exemptions in 275 CE (Csapo & Slater 1995, 255).

<sup>555</sup> Such security may have been necessary, as the Ionian artists celebrated a festival with Antony in Ephesos, a service for which they received Priene as a place to settle (Plut. *Ant.* 56.4 - 57.1).

<sup>556</sup> The associations typically included the emperor's name in their official title, just as the Ptolemaic association included the epithets of the ruling pair of the Lagid dynasty (See van Nijf 2011, 232).

anean had become a fully integrated cultural network under the Roman empire, one that united the distinct regions that were represented by the four associations of this study.<sup>557</sup> Though we know that they did not appear *de novo*, the activity of the imperial associations, the exact circumstances for the global associations' formation, and the use of their cultural capital by the Roman empire in Rome and in the provinces remain to be explored more fully in a future study.<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>557</sup> This is not to say that regional or even local identities within this network were erased: the negotiation between the Roman political infrastructure and local Greek identities in the Imperial period has long been and continues to be fertile ground for scholarship. See, e.g., Alcock 1993 and 1997; van Nijf 1999, 2000, and 2001; Rizakes et al. 2001; the papers collected in Whitmarsh (ed) 2010; Gruen (ed) 2010; and Galli (ed) 2013; Morgan 2014; and van Nijf and Williamson 2015.

<sup>558</sup> See esp. the recently discovered letters from Hadrian to an association of artists from Alexandria Troas (Petzl and Schwertheim 2006 and Jones 2007).

## **Epigraphic Catalogue**

The inscriptions in the Epigraphic Catalogue are presented in the order in which they appear in this study. The Greek texts are those of Le Guen 2001 unless otherwise indicated. All translations are my own.

<b>Concordance of Inscriptions in Le Guen and Aneziri (from <i>SEG</i> 51.2279)</b>		
<b>Le Guen 2001</b>	<b>Aneziri 2003</b>	<b>Other Corpora</b>
TE 1	n/a	<i>IG</i> XII.9.207
TE 2	A5B	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.68
TE 3	A1	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1320
TE 3 <i>bis</i>	A2	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 3211
TE 4	A4	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1331
TE 5	A3	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1330
TE 6	A5B	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.68
TE 7	A5A	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1132
n/a	A5C	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1133
TE 8	n/a	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.137
TE 9	n/a	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.138
TE 10	A6	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.47
n/a	A7	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.50
TE 11	C1Ba	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.69
TE 12	C2A/B	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.70
n/a	A8	<i>Kerameikos</i> III.A7
TE 13	A10	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.49
TE 14	A11	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.48
TE 15	A12	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1338
TE 16	A9	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> 1332
TE 17	B1	<i>F.D.</i> III.1.85

<b>Concordance of Inscriptions in Le Guen and Aneziri (from <i>SEG</i> 51.2279)</b>		
<b>Le Guen 2001</b>	<b>Aneziri 2003</b>	<b>Other Corpora</b>
TE 18	B2	<i>IG</i> XI.4.1059
TE 19	Dubia 1	<i>IG</i> XI.4.1060
TE 20	B3a-c	<i>F.D.</i> III.1.351
TE 21	Gc	<i>IG</i> VII 2447
TE 22	B4a	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 457
n/a	B4b	<i>IG</i> VII 1735a
TE 23A-H	Gb1-8	Roesch 1982, no. 31-38
TE 24A-G	Ga1-7	Nachtergaele 1977, <i>Actes</i> 3-5, 7-10
TE 25	n/a	Nachtergaele 1977 (cf. Le Guen 2001 I, 173 and n. 476)
TE 26	B7	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 690
TE 26 <i>bis</i>	Dubia 2	<i>Corinth</i> VIII.3, no. 40.
TE 27	B12	<i>IG</i> VII.2484
TE 28	B13	<i>IG</i> VII 2485
TE 29	B14	<i>SEG</i> 32.438
TE 30	B15	<i>IG</i> VII 2486
TE 31	B11	<i>IG</i> IX.1.278
TE 32	B10	<i>IG</i> XII.9.910
TE 33	B5	<i>CIG</i> 3068C
TE 34, TE 51	B6, D15	<i>IG</i> VII.2413-2414
TE 35A-B	B8, C1A/B	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 704
TE 36	B9	<i>IG</i> IV 558
TE 37	B16	<i>IvO</i> 405
TE 38	D1	<i>F.D.</i> III.3.218 B
TE 39	D2	<i>SEG</i> 2.580



Concordance of Inscriptions in Le Guen and Aneziri (from <i>SEG</i> 51.2279)		
Le Guen 2001	Aneziri 2003	Other Corpora
TE 40	D8	<i>I. Magnesia</i> 54
TE 41	D9	<i>I. Magnesia</i> 89
TE 42	D3	<i>SEG</i> 41.1003 and 1005
n/a	D4A	<i>IG</i> IX <sup>2</sup> 192
n/a	D4B, D5, D6B	<i>F.D.</i> III.2.134
n/a	D6	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 565
TE 43	D7	<i>Iscr.Cos.</i> ED 79
TE 44	D11a	<i>CIG</i> 3068 B
TE 45	D10	<i>IG</i> XI 4, 1061
TE 46A-D	n/a	<i>LBW</i> 91-4
TE 47	D12	Welles <i>RC</i> 53
TE48	D11b	<i>CIG</i> 3068 A
TE 49	D14	<i>OGIS</i> 325
TE 50	n/a	Pottier & Hauvette-Besnault 1880, no. 21.
TE 52	n/a	<i>OGIS</i> 326
TE 53	D13	<i>I.Iasos</i> 152
TE 54	D16	<i>IGR</i> IV 1692
TE 55	D14	<i>Iscr.Cos.</i> ED 141
TE 56	n/a	Sherk <i>RDGE</i> no. 49
n/a	D17	<i>I.Lindos</i> 264
TE 57	D19	<i>IG</i> XII.8.163
TE 58	n/a	<i>CIG</i> 3072
TE 59	n/a	<i>LBW</i> 89
TE 60	E1	<i>OGIS</i> 50
TE 61	E2	<i>OGIS</i> 52

<b>Concordance of Inscriptions in Le Guen and Aneziri (from <i>SEG</i> 51.2279)</b>		
<b>Le Guen 2001</b>	<b>Aneziri 2003</b>	<b>Other Corpora</b>
TE 62	E3	<i>SEG</i> 13.586
TE 63	E4	<i>SEG</i> 13.556
TE 64	E6	<i>I. Salamis</i> 5
TE 65	E7	<i>I. Salamis</i> 6
TE 66	E8	<i>SEG</i> 44.1232
TE 67	E9	<i>SEG</i> 44.1232
TE 68	E10	<i>SEG</i> 44.1232
TE 69	E11	<i>SEG</i> 44.1232
TE 70		
TE 71	n/a	Perdrizet 1914, 100
TE 72	F5	<i>CIG</i> 3072
TE 73	F2	<i>IG</i> XIV 12
TE 74	F3	<i>IG</i> XIV 13
TE 75	F1	<i>SEG</i> 34.974
TE 76	n/a	Moretti 1963, 41
TE 77	n/a	Moretti 1963, 42
TE 78	H1	Mauri 1916, no 10
n/a	Dubia 3	<i>Kerameikos</i> III.A6
n/a	Dubia 5	<i>IG</i> XII.9.915

**1. F.D. III.2.68, 65-84 (279/8 BCE): Honors from the Amphictyony to the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai***

- 65 ...ἔδοξεν τοῖς Ἀμφικτί-  
οσιν καὶ τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς, ὅπω[ς]  
ἥι εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἀσυλία καὶ ἀτέλεια τοῖς τεχνί-  
ταις τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις, καὶ μὴ ἥι ἀγώγιμος μηθεὶς μηθαμό-  
θεν, μήτε πολέμου μήτε εἰράνας, μήτε τὰ χρήματα αὐ-  
70 τῶν, ἀλλ' ἥι αὐτοῖς ἀτέλεια καὶ ἀσφάλεια εἰς πάντα χρό-  
[v]ον ἢ συνεχωρημένη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλάνων βεβαία, εἴ-  
[v]αι δὲ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀτελεῖς στρατείας πεζικᾶς καὶ ναυτι-  
[kā]ς, καὶ εἰσφορᾶς πάσας, ὅπως τοῖς θεοῖς αἱ τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ θυ-  
[σίαι, ἐ]φ' ἃς εἰσι τεταγμένοι οἱ τεχνῖται, συντελῶνται ἐν τοῖς  
75 [καθήκουσιν χρόνοις, ὄντων αὐτῶν ἀπολυπραγ]-  
[μονήτων καὶ] ἱερῶ[v π]ρὸς ταῖς τ[ῶν θεῶν λειτουργί]-  
[αις· μὴ ἐξέσ]τω δὲ μηδενὶ ἄγειν τὸν τ[εχνίταν, μήτε πο]-  
[λέμου μήτε] εἰρήνας, μηδὲ συλᾶν, εἴ κα [μὴ χρέος ἔχων]  
[πόλει ἥι] ὑπόχρεος, καὶ ἐὰν ἰδίου ἥι συν[βόλου ὑπόχρεος]  
80 [ὁ τεχνί]τας· vacat? ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ[ι, ὑπόδικος ἔστω]  
[ἐν] Ἀμφικτίοσι, αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ᾗ ἂν τὸ ἀ[δίκημα κα]-  
[τὰ τοῦ τεχνίτα συντελεσθῇ· εἴμεν δὲ τὰν ἀτέλει[αν καὶ τὰν ἀ]-  
[σφάλειαν τὰ]ν δεδομένην ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτιόνων τοῖς ἐν [Ἀθήναις]  
[τεχνίταις εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, οὓσιν ἀπολυπραγμον[ήτοις].

...it was resolved by the Amphictyons and the *hieromnemons* and *agoratroi*, that there by *asylia* and *ateleia* for all time for the *technitai* who are in Athens, and that no one be apprehended anywhere, neither in war nor in peace, nor that their money (be seized), but let there be for them *ateleia* and *asphaleia* for all time and the security that has been granted by all greeks, and that the *technitai* be free from taxation for the military for foot soldiers or ships, and (freedom) from all tribute, in order that the honors and sac[rifices] for the gods, for which the *technitai* have been arrayed, may be celebrated [at the established times, seeing as they are apolitical and] sacred with respect to the [liturgies of the gods]. [Let it ] not be possible for anyone to lead away a *t[echnitēs]*, neither in war nor] in peace, nor to seize (him) if [not having any debt] the artist is not indebted [to a city] or if he is (not) [indebted[ to a private con[tract]. If anyone should act against these things, [let him be subject to trial[ before the Amphic-tyons, both he himself and the city in which the in[justice ag]ainst the *technitēs* took place. That the *ateleia* [and the *a[sphaleia* that has been given by the Amphictyons to the *technitai* in [Athens] is for all time, seeing as they are apolitic[al]

**2. F.D. III.1.351, 11-29 (mid to late 3rd century BCE): Privileges from the Amphictyony to Thebes and the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* in recognition of the *Agrionia* at Thebes.**

- 11 [ἐπὶ Νικάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐν Δε]λφοῖς, π[υλαίας ὁπωρινῆς, ἔδοξεν τοῖς  
 Ἀμφι]κτίοσιν· ὅπως ἂν ἡ θυσία τῷ Διονύσῳ  
 [τῷ Καδμεῖῳ καὶ οἱ ἀ]γῶνες οὓς σ[υντελεῖ ἡ πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τὸ κ]οινὸν τῶν  
 τεχνιτῶν τῶν εἰς Ἴσθμόν  
 [καὶ Νεμέαν συμπορευο]μένων γίνητ[αι ὡς κάλλιστα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] τοὺς  
 ἱερομνήμονας οἱ ἂν ᾧσιν ἐν τῷ  
 [ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν ᾧ ἂν αἱ τ]ριετηρίδες κα[τασκευάζονται τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ Κα]δμεῖῳ ἐν  
 Θήβαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ
- 15 [τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἄρχειν] ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ[ι ἣ ἂν ἡ πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τὸ κ]οινὸν τῶν  
 τεχνιτῶν  
 [ἐ]θελ[ήσω]σιν[ - - - - -]ἀναι ἐν  
 τῷ[ι]  
 ἱερῷ παρὰ τὸν ση[κὸν τῆς Σεμέλης [- - - - - 24-26 - - - - - εἶ]ναι δὲ  
 καὶ ἀσφάλειαν  
 καὶ ἀσυλίαν πᾶσι το[ῖς τεχνίταις τοῖς νεμηθεῖσιν εἰς τὴν θυσία]ν τῶν τριετηρίδων,  
 πένθ' ἡμέρας πορευ[ομένοις, καὶ ἀπερχομένοις ἄλλας τοσαύτας, κ]αὶ ἕως ἂν ἡ  
 πανήγυρις
- 20 γίνηται, καὶ αὐτοῖς κ[αὶ τοῖς συνεργαζομένοις<sup>559</sup> αὐτοῖς πα]νταχοῦ· ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ  
 ταῦτα  
 ἄγῃ τινὰ ἢ ῥυσιάζῃ, ὑ[πόδικος ἔστω ἐν Ἀμφικτίο]σιν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ  
 Διονύσου τοῦ Καδμεῖου [τὸ ἐν Θήβαις ἀπὸ πάντων ἄ]συλον καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν  
 Δελφοῖς·  
 τὴν δὲ θυσίαν καὶ ἐκεχε[ρίαν ἐπαγγέλλειν] ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τήν τε τῶν Θηβαίων  
 πόλιν καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας· κ[υρίου δ' εἶναι οἰκονο]μοῦντας τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν τε  
 ἱερέα τοῦ
- 25 Διονύσου καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελ[ητὰς τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶ]ν τεχνιτῶν εἰρημένους καὶ τὸν  
 ἀγωνοθέτην  
 Θηβαίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν [γραμματέα τόδ]ε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλαις δυσὶν καὶ  
 ἀναθεῖναι  
 τὴν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῷ[ι ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνο]ς ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ ἐγ καλλίστῳ εἶναι,  
 τὴν δὲ  
 ἐν Θήβαις παρὰ τὸν σηκὸ[ν τῆς Σεμέλης· ἀνα]θεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ὅπου  
 ἂν  
 δοκῇ ἐν καλλίστῳ εἶναι. *vacat*

<sup>559</sup> cf. F.D. III.1.351, 37.

[In the archonship of Nikarchos in De]lphi, p[ylaia]s of autumn, it was resolved by the Amphi]ktyons: In order that the festival to Dionysos [Kadmeios and the] games that [the *polis* of the Thebans and the *koinon* of *technitai* who travel together to Isthmos [and Nemea contribute] may be [as fine as possible,] that those who are *hieromnemons* in the [year in which the] *trietērides* are p[repared for Dionysos Ka]dmeios in Thebes [see to it that the truce begins] on [whichever] day [the *polis* of the Thebans and the *koinon* of *technitai* wishes;...in the sanctuary by the *sēkos* of Semele...that there be *asphaleia* and *asylia* for all the [artists who participate in the festiva]l of the *trietērides* for five days in com[ing and as many in leaving a]nd as long as the festival lasts, both for them a[nd their coworkers<sup>560</sup> e]verywhere; If anyone should seize or rob another contrary to these things, [let him be subject to prosecution before the Amphicty]ons; that the sanctuary of Dionysos Kadmeios [in Thebes] is inviolable [from all] just like the one in Delphi;<sup>561</sup> that the *polis* of the Thebans and the *technitai* are to announce the festival and the truce to the *poleis*; that [those empowered to administer the] finances for things pertaining to the sanctuary are the priest of Dionysos and the *epimele[tai]* chosen [by the] *technitai* and the *agonothetēs* of the Thebans; that the [secretary] inscribe this decree on two steles and place one in Delphi in the [sanctuary of Apoll]o wherever it seems best, and the other in Thebes by the *sēkos* [of Semele, and] to place it in other sanctuaries wherever it seems best.

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<sup>560</sup> This term does not appear in any other documents pertaining to the *technitai* and seems to be intentionally vague depending on the artists' particular entourage. They may have included *synagonistai* (second and third actors who performed with a more famous protagonist) who are known to later organize alongside the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.

<sup>561</sup> As Rigsby notes, the location of the temple and sanctuary of Dionysos Kadmeios in Thebes is currently unknown, though most scholars speculate that it was located near the Electra gate within the city. If so, this would make an unusual case of inviolability being granted to a temple *within* a city, rather than the city as a whole (1997, 68 and n.47).

**3. F.D. III.1.351, 30-9 (mid to late 3rd century BCE): Penalties for artists who fail to appear at the *Agrionia***

30 ἐπὶ Νικάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυλαία]ς ὁπωρινῆς, ἔδοξεν τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσιν·  
ἐπειδὴ  
ἀ πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων κα[ὶ οἱ τεχνῖται οἱ εἰς] Ἴσθμὸν καὶ Νεμέαν συντελοῦντες  
παρεκάλεσαν  
τοὺς Ἀμφικτίονας τό τε [ἰε]ρὸν [τοῦ Διονύσου] ἄσυλον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν  
ποιήσασθαι τᾷς  
ἀ[σ]φαλείας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶ[ν]ος ὅπως καὶ ἀ θυσία ἀ τῶν] τριετηρίδων ὥς κάλλιστα  
συντελεῖται τῷ  
Διονύσῳ τῷ Καδμε[ίῳ]· δεδόχ[θαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτι]όνεσσι· αἱ τίς κα τῶν αὐλητῶν ἢ  
τῶν χο-  
35 ρευτῶν ἢ τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἢ τῶν κω[μωιδῶν τῶν νε]μηθέντων εἰς τὰς τριετηρίδας ὑπὸ  
τῶν τε-  
χνιτῶν μὴ ἀγωνίζεται [τ]ας τριετηρίδας[ς συντελειμέ]νους κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾷς πόλιος  
τῶν Θηβαίων  
ἀλλὰ ὑγιαίνων λίπη[ι τὸν] ἀγῶνα, μὴ εἴμην αὐτῷ ἀσφ]άλειαν μηδὲ τοῖς  
συνεργαζομένοις αὐτῷ μή-  
τε πολέμου μήτε εἰρά[νας]· αἱ κα μὴ ἀγ[ωνίζεται καὶ κ]α ζαμιωθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ἀγωνοθέτα, καὶ ἀγῶγμος ἔ-  
στω πανταχόθεν· [αἱ κά] τις πόλις ἢ [ἀρχεῖον ἢ ιδιώτας τ]ὰν ζαμίαν ἀφέληται τὸν  
ἐξαμι[ωμ]ένον...<sup>562</sup>

In the archonship of Nikarchos in [Delphi, *pylaia*]s of autumn, It was resolved by the Amphictyons: Whereas the *polis* of the Thebans and [the *technitai* who] contribute<sup>563</sup> to Isthmos and Nemea requested that the Amphictyons make the [san]ctuary [of Dionysos] inviolable and be mindful of the *asphaleia* and of the contest in order that [the festival of the] *trietērides* may be contributed to Dionysos Kadmeios as fine as possible, it has been resolved by the Amphictyons: If anyone of the flute players, chorus members, tragic actors, or com[ic actors having been as]signed to the *trietērides* by the *technitai* does not compete at the *trietērides* events according to the law of the *polis* of the Thebans, but leaves the competition in good health, let there be no *asphaleia* [for him] nor for his coworkers, neither in war nor in peace. If he does not com[pete, and] is punished by the *agonothetēs*, let him also be liable to seizure everywhere. [If] any *polis* or [magistrate or priva]te person removes the punishment from the convicted...

<sup>562</sup> Lefevre: [ὑπόδικος ἔστω ἐν Ἀμφικτίοσι {ἀποτεισάτω τῷ θεῷ?}...]

<sup>563</sup> LSJ s.v. συντελέω II.2.

4. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 457 (ca. 225 BCE): Decree of the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* on the re-organization of the *Mouseia* at Thespiai (text from Le Guen TE 22)

ὁ θυμελικὸς ἀγὼν στεφανίτης πρῶτον ἐγένετο·

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Ἱεροκλέος, ἱερέως δὲ<br/>τῶν<br/>Μουσῶν Μνασίωνος, ἀπὸ δὲ<br/>τῶν τεχνιτῶν Αἰσχύλου, καὶ δόγμα-<br/>5 τα περὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν Μουσειῶν.<br/>τεχνιτῶν· ἔδοξε τοῖς τεχνίταις<br/>τοῖς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας· ἐπειδὴ<br/>παραγενόμενος πρεσβευτῆς<br/>Ἱεροκλῆς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως Θεσ-<br/>10 πιέων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Βοι-<br/>ωτῶν ψηφίσματά τε ἀπέδω-<br/>κεν καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ἣι παρε-<br/>κάλει τοὺς τεχνίτας, τῆς<br/>πόλεως τῶν Θεσπιέων προ-<br/>15 κεχειρισμένης τὸ ἀγῶνα<br/>τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι γινόμενον<br/>ταῖς Μούσαις στεφανίτην εἶ-<br/>ναι τὸν θυμελικὸν τόν τε τῶν<br/>αὐλητῶν καὶ αὐλωιδῶν καὶ<br/>20 κιθαριστῶν καὶ κιθαρωιδῶν<br/>καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητῇ, καὶ ὅπως<br/>ἂν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς μετατεθῇ ἐν<br/>ᾧ ὁ ἀγὼν γίνεται, καὶ συνπρεσ-<br/>βεύσωσιν περὶ τούτων οὗ ἂν<br/>25 παρακαλῇ ἡ πόλις ἢ τῶν Θεσ-<br/>πιέων, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσ-<br/>[θ]εν χρόνοις, πράττωσι δὲ οἱ τε-<br/>[χνί]ται καὶ ἂν ἄλλο [τ]ι χρήσιμον<br/>[ἢ ἐνδ]όξον [φαίνεται εἶν]αι ε-<br/>30 - - -</p> | <p>[Ἱεροκλῆς λόγους ἐποίησατο<br/>ἀκολούθως]<br/>τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι γεγραμ-<br/>μένοις, ἐπέδειξε δὲ καὶ τὰ<br/>ἐξ ἀρχῆς προγεγονότα φιλάνθρω-<br/>35 πα τῇ πόλει τῶν Θεσπιέων πρὸς<br/>τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς τεχνί-<br/>τας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θεσ-<br/>πιέων· περὶ δ&lt;ῆ&gt; τούτων πάντων,<br/>ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, δεδόχθαι τοῖς<br/>40 τεχνίταις ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὴν<br/>πόλιν τῶν Θεσπιέων καὶ τὸ<br/>κοινὸν<br/>τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ<br/>ἣ ἔχουσιν εἰς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν<br/>Μουσῶν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τε-<br/>45 χνιτῶν· ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς<br/>ὅτε καὶ πρότερον οἱ τεχνίται,<br/>κοινὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντες,<br/>εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Μουσῶν<br/>τῇ τε πόλει Θεσπιέων καὶ αὐ-<br/>50 τοῖς, τὴν πᾶσαν προθυμίαν<br/>ἐνεδείξαντο καὶ συνθύοντες<br/>καὶ ἱερέα ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰρούμενοι<br/>καὶ θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλοντες<br/>καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφοντες καὶ<br/>55 συμπρεσβεύοντες περὶ τοῦ<br/>ἀγῶνος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς<br/>Ἑλληνας, καθὼς ἂν ἡ πόλις<br/>παρ[α]-<br/>καλῇ τῶν Θεσπιέων· ἐμφανί-<br/>ζειν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅτι καὶ νῦν πρῶτοι<br/>60 τὸν ἀγῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις στεφα-<br/>[νί]την ἀποδέχοντ[αι — — —]</p> |
|---|--|

The crowned thymelic competition took place for the first time.

When Hierokles was agonothete, Mnasion was priest of the Muses, and from the *technitai* Aischylos, (these are) the decrees concerning the competition of the Muses. From the *technitai*, it was resolved by the *technitai* who are from Isthmos and Nemea, whereas the ambassador Hierokles having appeared (before us) has delivered the decrees and the letter from the *polis* of the Thespians and the *koinon* of Boiotians, in which (the letter) invited the *technitai*, as the *polis* of Thespiiai has decided<sup>564</sup> that the existing contest in Helikon for the muses is to be a crowned and theatrical one for aulos players and aulos singers and kithara players and kithara singers and epic poets; and in order that the year in which the competition takes place may be changed, that (the *technitai*) join in sending an embassy concerning these things wherever the *polis* of the Thespians invites them, just like in earlier times, and that the *technitai* also do anything that would seem to be useful or honorable...

(Whereas Hierokles spoke consistently with the words) that have been written in the decrees, and moreover demonstrated the benefits that have existed from the beginning from the *polis* of the Thespians towards the *technitai* and from the *technitai* towards the *polis* of the Thespians, concerning all of these things: Good fortune! It has been resolved by the *technitai* (first) to praise the *polis* of the Thespians and the *koinon* of the Boiotians for the munificence which they hold towards both the sanctuary of the muses and the *koinon* of *technitai*; (second) to respond to them that even beforehand the *technitai*, understanding the competition of the muses to be shared by the *polis* of the Thespians and themselves, displayed all enthusiasm when sharing in sacrifices and selecting a priest from their own ranks and dispatching *theoroi* and in writing decrees and also in sending ambassadors concerning the competition to the rest of the Greeks, just as the *polis* of Thespians invites them (to do); (third) to make clear to them that even now they are the first to accept the contest for the muses as crowned...

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<sup>564</sup> See LSJ s.v. προχειρίζω II.4



**5. IG VII.2413-2414 (146 BCE): Letters from Mummius to the Isthmian-Nemean and Ionian-Hellespontine *koina* of *technitai*<sup>565</sup>**

- [-----]OYIE[.]OI[...]  
 [ἐν]<sup>566</sup> τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχείᾳ καὶ ἧς ἐπάρχουσ[ιν]  
 [διὰ ἡγεμόνων]<sup>567</sup> συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἔνεκεν τοῦ Διονύσου κα[ὶ]  
 [τῶν ἄλλων θε]ῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος οὗ προεστήκ[ατε]  
 5 [ὁμᾶς παντάπα]σιν ἀλειτουργήτους εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπισταθ-  
 [μεύτους καὶ ἀτελ]εῖς καὶ ἀν[ει]σφό[ρ]ους πάσης εἰσφορᾶ[ς]  
 [καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γ]υναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἕως ἂν εἰς ἡλι[κίαν]  
 [ἀνδρικὴν ἐξίκω]νται καθὼς παρεκαλεῖτε. *vacat*  
*vacat* [ἀ]γαθὴ τύχη. *vacat*  
 10 [----- 13-14- -----]<sup>568</sup> στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαί[ων, τῶ]  
 [κοινῶ τῶν περὶ] τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτ[ῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἴω]-  
 [νίας καὶ Ἑλλησπό]ντου καὶ τῶν περ[ὶ τὸν Καθηγεμό]-  
 [να Διόνυσον -----] συν Κράτῳ[νι- -----]<sup>569</sup>

...[in] the province of the Romans and which they govern [through the magistrates], I agree with you, for the sake of Dionysos and [the other god]s and of the profession which you have practiced, [that you are in every way] exempt from liturgies and bille[ting and] tax and are exempt from every tribute, [both you yourselves and your w]ives and your children until they reach [adult] age, as you requested.

Good Fortune!

[...], consul of the Roman[s, to the *koinon* of] artists in the entourage of Dionysos [who are in Ionia and the Hellespo]nt and those in the entour[age of Dionysos the Ruler...] with Krato[n...].

<sup>565</sup> I reproduce the texts of Le Guen 2001 TE 34 (= IG VII 2413 = Aneziri B6) and TE 51 (= IG VII 2414 = D15). The stone has been missing for quite some time. Kallet-Marx was unable to find it at the museum in Thebes in 1985 (1995, 349), and the last edition based on autopsy is Roesch 1982 (198-202). That the first letter (lines 1-9) was addressed to the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* can be deduced from the fact that the second letter addresses the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (line 11-12) and that it refers to both Dionysos (3) and the profession of the artists (4).

<sup>566</sup> Klaffenbach: [Μακεδονίαι]; Roesch 1982: [ἐν].

<sup>567</sup> Klaffenbach: [τῆς Ἑλλάδος]; Roesch 1982: [διὰ ἡγεμόνων].

<sup>568</sup> Klaffenbach: [Λεύκιος Μόμμιος]; Roesch 1982: [Λεύκιος Μόμμιος]; Accame: [Μάαρκος Λεῖβιος]

<sup>569</sup> Roesch 1982: [καὶ τοῖς] συν Κράτῳ[νι Ζωτίχου Ἀτταλισταῖς | χαίρειν]

6. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1330, 20-46 (163-130 BCE): The Athenian *synodos* Honors Ariarathes V*

- ...[δεδόχθαι]
- τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις ἐπ[αινέσαι μὲν βασιλέα Ἀριαράθην Εὐσεβῆ]  
καὶ Φιλοπάτορα βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου [Εὐσεβοῦς καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀντιοχίδος]  
εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ [φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς τεχνίτας]·  
στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸν θε[ὸν — — — — καὶ εἰκόνα χαλ]-  
25 κῆν ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ [— — — — — ἀνειπεῖν δὲ]  
καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων τὴν ἀνάθεσιν Διονυσί[ων τε τῶν ἐν ἅστει καινοῖς τραγωί]-  
δοῖς καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύ]-  
σεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἐπιμελητήν. πα[ρασκευάσαι δὲ ἱερεῖα εἰς θυσίαν τῷ]  
Διονύσῳ ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων κοινῶν κ[άλλιστα τὸν ἐπιμελητήν καὶ Μενέλαον]  
30 ποιητὴν τραγικὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Δ[ιονύσου καὶ θῦσαι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς]  
συνόδου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου καὶ βασιλ[ίσσης Νύσης — — — — —]  
καὶ μερίδα νεῖμαι πᾶ[σ]ιν τοῖς μετέχουσιν [τῆς συνόδου καὶ παισὶ καὶ γυναιξίν?]  
[α]ὐ[τ]ῶν. μερίσαι δὲ τὸν [ἐπ]ιμελητὴν τοῦ Μετ[αγεινιῶνος μηνὸς τὴν τετράδα]  
[ἐ]πὶ δέκα ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασ[ιλ]έως καὶ τὴν πέμπτ[ην ἐπὶ δέκα ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλίσσης]  
35 παί...ν, τὸν [δ'] ὑπηρέτην προγρ[ά]ψαι — — — — —  
ἡμερῶ[ν] τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου καὶ σ[τε]φ[αν]οῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως]  
καὶ θυμῶν κ[αὶ] δαῖδα ἰστάνειν καὶ ἐν τ...σι[— — — — — — — — — — βα]-  
σιλεῖ Ἀριαράθῃ Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ Φιλοπάτορι .ΟΛ[— — — — — εἶναι δὲ ἡμέ]-  
ραν ἐπώνυμον κατὰ μῆνα τὴν τετράδα ἐπὶ δ[έ]κα — — — — καὶ τῇ ἡμέ]-  
40 ραι ταύτῃ μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Διον[ύ]σου καὶ ἰδία[ι θῦ]σα[ι? — — — — — — — —]  
μένου τὸ νικῆσαν· καταλέγε[ιν] δὲ τὸν ἐπιμελη[τὴν τοὺς — — — — — — — —]  
ἀπαρξο[μέ]νους· εἰ δὲ μή, ζημ[ι]οῦν τὸ μὴ πε[π]οι[η]κότα. τῇ δὲ — — — — τοῦ αὐ]-  
τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου κατ' ἐνιαυ[τὸν ἀγῶνα μουσικὸν τιθέναι τοὺς]  
τεχνίτας καὶ διδόναι τῶν ὠιδῶν τῷ νικῆσα[ντι — — — — — — — — — —]  
45 καὶ κωμωδοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ τραγωιδῶς, κατὰ [τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ καινοῖς κωμωί]-  
δοῖς καὶ τραγωιδῶς.

[It has been resolved] by the artists in the entourage of Dionysos to pr[aise King Ariarathes *Eusebēs*] *Philopator*, the son of king Ariarathes [*Eusebēs* and Queen Antiochis] for the sake of their piety and justice and [ambition they have for the *technitai*] and to set up a statue of him by the go[d...as well as a portrait of bron]ze in the *propylaion* of the *temenos* and [...to announce] the installment of the portraits at the *Dionys[ia* in the city during the new traged]ies and at the [gymnic contests] of the *Panathenaia* and the *Eleusinia*. (It was also resolved) that the *epimeletes* oversee the [proclama]tion. (It was also resolved) that the tragic poet [Menelaos and the *epimeletes* pr[epare rites for the sacrifice to] Dionysos from the common revenues in the fl[ine]st way] with the priest of D[ionysos and to sacrifice on behalf of the safety

of] the *synodos* and King Ariarathes and Que[en Nyse...] and distribute portions to all those who have a share in [the *synodos* and to] their [children and wives?]. And that the *epimeletes* apportion the [fourteenth] day of the [month] Met[ageigon] on behalf of the king and the fif[teenth] day on behalf of the queen]...that the attendant give notice...(on?) the days of King Ariarathes and to c[r]ow[n the king's statue] and to set up a torch and incense and in...[to Ki]ng Ariarathes *Eusebes Philopator*...[and that the] name da[y] on the fourteen[th] day of the month...[and on] that [da]y eith Dionysos and in a privat[e sac]rifi[ce?]...the victor. And that the *epimele[tes]* recite... offering the first-fruits. If not, that the one who has not d[o]ne so be punished...[that the] *technitai* [hold a musical contest on (the birthday?)] on the month of King Ariarathes every yea[r] and that (the *technitai*) give (a crown?) to the victor of the singers...and old tragedies and comedies, and the [same things] accordingly [for new komed]ies and tragedies.

**7. F.D. III.2.47, 1-6, 31-9 (128/7 BCE): Delphi Honors the Athenian *synodos* for its participation in the *Pythaid* of Dionysios**

[ἐπε]ιδὴ ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις τε[χνι]τῶν, τιμῶσα μὲν καὶ σεβομένα τὸν  
θεῖον δ[ιᾶ]  
[π]αντός, αὔξειν δὲ προαιρειμένα τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ πάτρια τῶν θεῶν, καὶ,  
ἀρχομένα ἀπ[ὸ]  
[τ]ούτων, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα διαπέπρακται τῶν ποτὶ δόξαν ἀνηκόντων κα[ὶ]  
[μ]νάμαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ νῦν δέ, ψα[φι]ξαμένου τοῦ δάμου τοῦ  
Ἀθηναί[ων]  
5 πέμπειν τὰν Πυθαΐδα ποθ' ἅμ' ἐτῶν πλείονων τοῖς τε χρησμοῖς καὶ ταῖς  
ἱστορίαις [ἅ]-  
κολούθως, συνεπέδωκε αὐτοσαυτὰν [ἅ σύν]οδος,  
...  
...ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
δεδόχθαι ταῖ πόλει τῶν Δ[ελφῶν] ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τ[ῶν] σύνοδον τῶν ἐν  
Ἀθήναις τεχνι-  
τῶν ἐπὶ τε ταῖ ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν εὐν[οίαι] καὶ ταῖ ποτὶ τὸ θ[εῖον] εὐσεβείαι καὶ  
στεφανῶσαι αὐτὰν  
τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφάνῳ, ὃι πάτριόν[τι] ἐστὶ Δελφ[οῖς], ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
ἐπιδεδαμηκότας καὶ  
35 λειτουργηκότας τῶν τεχνιτῶ[ν], καὶ εἵμε[ν] αὐτοῖς πᾶσι προμαντείαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν  
τὰν  
ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ προγόνων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τίμια πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
προξέ-  
νοισι καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλιος ὑπάρ[χει], ἀνα]γράψαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ  
ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀ-  
πόλλωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων], ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὰν βουλὰν  
καὶ τὸν  
Ἀθηναίων δᾶμον καὶ ποτὶ τὸ κοινὸν τ[ῶν περὶ] τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν.

Whereas the synodos of technitai in Athens, having honored and worshipping the god before all and choosing to increase the customary and ancestral rites of the gods, and, beginning from these things, has accomplished the greatest and finest of things that befit esteem and memory for all time; and now, with the people of Athens having voted to send the Pythaid after an interval of several years, in accordance with both the oracles and traditions,<sup>570</sup> the synodos has also dedicated itself as an offering...

<sup>570</sup> On the sense of *historiai* as traditions in this context, see Rutherford 2004, 77 n. 52.

...good fortune! It has been resolved by the *polis* of D[elphi on the one hand to praise t]he *synodos* of *technītai* in Athens both for their good[will] towards the *polis* [and] their piety [towards the g]od and (it has been resolved) to crown it (the *synodos*) with the god's crown, which is custom[ary in Delp]hi, and similarly those of the *technītai* who are resident guests and who have served liturgies, and [that there be] for all them *promanteia* and *asylia* that exists for them through their progeny [and] all [oth[er honors that exis[t] for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the *polis*, and to [in]scribe this decree in the sanctuary of Apollo on the treasury of the Athe[nians], and also to send copies to the council and people of Athens and to the *koinon* of *technītai* in the entourage of Dionysos.

**8. *F.D.* III.2.137 (128/7 BCE): *Paian* of Athenaios (Text from Le Guen 2001 I TE 8)<sup>571</sup>**

1 [παιάν και ὑπόρχημα ε]ῖς τὸν θεὸν ὃ ἐ[πότησεν Ἀθ]ήναιος.<sup>572</sup>

[κέκλυθ' Ἑλικ]ῶνα βαθύδενδρον αἰ λά-  
[χετε Διὸς ἐ[ρι]βρόμουου θύγατρες εὐώλ[ενοι]  
μόλετε συνόμαιμον ἵνα Φοῖοιβον ὠίδαε[ῖ]-  
σι μέλψητε χρυσεοκόμαν ὃς ἀνὰ δικόρυν-  
5 βα Παρνασσίδος τᾶσδε πετέρας ἔδραν' ἄμ' [ᾶ]-  
γακλυταῖεις Δεελφίσιν Κασταλίδος  
εὐνύδρου νάματ' ἐπινίσεται Δελφὸν ἀνὰ  
[πρ]ῶνα μαντεῖιον ἐφέπων πάγον.

[ῚΗν] κλυτὰ μεγάλοπολις Ἀθθῖς εὐχαῖε[ῖς]-  
10 [σ]ι φερόπλοιο ναίουσα Τριτωνίδος δά[πε]-  
δον ἄθραυστον ἀγίοις δὲ βωμοῖοισιν ἸΑ-  
φαιστος αἰεῖθε<ι> νέων μῆρα ταούρων ὁμοῦ-  
ου δέ νιν ἸΑραψ ἀτμός ἐς <ῚΟ>λ<υ>μπον ἀνακίδν[α]-  
ται· λιγὺ δὲ λωτοὸς βρέμων αἰόλοιοις μ[έ]-  
15 λεσιν ὠίδααν κρέκει· χρυσέα δ' ἀδύθρου[ς κί]-  
θαρις ὕμνοισιν ἀναμέλπεται.

ὁ δὲ [τεχνι]-  
τῶν πρόπας ἐσμὸς Ἀθθίδα λαχῶ[ν σε κιθα]-  
[ρί]ζει κλυτὸν παῖδα μεγάλου Δ[ιὸς - - - - -]  
[πα]ρ' ἀκρονιφῇ τόνδε πάγον αἶμ[- - - - -]  
20 [- - - - -] πᾶσι θνατοῖοις προφαίνει[- - - - -]  
[τρ]ίποδα μαντεῖιον ὥς εἰει[- - - - -]  
[φρ]ονούρει δράκων ὅτε τε[- - - - -]  
[- -] ηῖσας αἰόλον ἐλκτὰν [- - - - -]  
[- -] συυρίγμαθ' ἰεῖς ἀθώπε[υτ' - - - - -]  
25 [- -] δὲ Γαλατᾶν ἄρης [- - - - -]  
[- -] ν ἐπέρας' ἀσέπτ[ως - - - - -]

<sup>571</sup> For the sake of easier reading, the texts of both *paian*s are divided into strophes and do not include the musical notation that was inscribed between the lines. The meter of both hymns, so far as it can be recognized in the fragments, seems to be entirely in cretics (Pöhlmann and West 2001, 85).

<sup>572</sup> This restoration follows Pöhlmann's, which was subsequently accepted by Le Guen and Aneziri, though there are several possible readings given the lacunose nature of this text and the lack of comparanda. Moens reads [Παιάν και προσόδιον ε]ῖς; Reinach (for *F.D.*) reads [Ἰσμία μετὰ κιθάρας (?) ε]ῖς. Athenaios should be identified with Athenaios son of Athenaios, who is listed among the *technitai* for this celebration (*F.D.* III.2.47, 19.) rather than an unnamed "Athenian". See Pöhlmann and West 2001, 71 n. 8 and Bélis *CID* III, p. 48-53.

[ ]ς.

Ἄλλ' ἰὼ γεέννα[-----]  
[---]γ θάλος φιλόμ[αχον-----]  
[---]ς δαάμοιο λο[-----]  
30 [---]ρων ἐφορῶ[-----]  
[---]τεον κ[-----]  
[---]ξναικ[-----]  
[---]νθη[-----]  
[-----]

*Paian* and dancing song which Athenaios also made for the god:

Hear, you fair-armed daughters of thundering Zeus who hold densely-wooded Helikon. Come so that you may charm your golden-haired brother Phoebos with songs, he who on the double peak of this rock of Parnassos, accompanied by the illustrious Delphian maidens, moves for the streams of well-watered Kastalia, approaching the promontory Delphi, the prophetic peak.

Behold the famous Attic megalopolis occupying unbreakable ground by the prayers of the arms-bearing Tritonis. And on the holy altars Hephaistos burns the thighs of young bulls, and the Arabian vapor, together with it, spreads up to Olympos. The shrill murmuring lotus with its nimble strains plays its song and the golden kithara raises sweet strains to accompany the hymns.

And the whole swarm of *technītai* who have received Attica by lot, play to the kithara the famous son of great Zeus...[b]y this snow-capped peak ...[you] reveal to all mortals...[they sing?] how you [took?] the prophetic tripod... the serpent keeps watch when...[having killed?] the slippery coiled...uttering terrible hisses...of the bane of the Galatians...breached impiously...

But come, O descendant...fight-loving child...of the people...overse[eing?]...

9. *F.D. III.2.138 (128/7 BCE): Paian of Limenios (Text from Le Guen 2001 I TE 9)*

[πα]ϊάν δὲ καὶ π[ροσό]διον εἰς τ[ὸν θεὸν ὃ ἐπό]ησε[ν καὶ προσεκιθάρι|σε]ν Λιμήνι[ος  
Θ]οῖνο[υ].

ἴτ' ἐπὶ τηλέσκοπον τα<ά>νδε Παρ[νασί]αν  
δικόρυφον κλειειτύν, ὕμνων κα[τάρ]χ[ετε δ' ἐμῶν]  
Πιερίδες αἶ νιφοβόλους πέτρας ναίεθ' [Ἑλι]κωνίδ[ας]  
μέλπετε δὲ Πύθιον [χρ]υσεοχαίταν ἔ[κα]τον εὐλύραν  
5 Φοῖβον ὃν ἔτικτε Λατὼ μάκαιρα πα[ρὰ λίμναι] κλυτᾶι  
χερσὶ γλαυκᾶ[ας] ἐλαίας θιγουοῦσ[-----]ς  
ἐριθα[λῆ].

πᾶς[ς δὲ γ]άθησε πόλος οὐράνιος [-----]  
[-----]γηνέμους δ' ἔσχεν αἰθηήρ ἀπ[-----]εις  
10 [δρ]όμους· λῆξε δὲ βαρύβρομον Νηη[ρέως -----]οι[εῖ]-  
δμ' ἡδὲ μέγας Ὠκεανός, ὃς πέριξ γ[ᾶν ὑγραεῖς ἀγ]κά-  
λαις ἀμπέχει.

τότε λιπὼν Κυυνθίαν νᾶσον ἐπ[έβα θεὸς] πρω[τό]-  
κα<α>ρπογ κλυτὰν Ἄτ<θ>ί<δ>' ἐπὶ γαα[λόφωι ----] Τριτωνίδος.

15 μελίπνοον δὲ λίβυς αὐδὰγ χέω[ν λωτὸς ἀνέμελ]πεν [ά]-  
δεΐειαν ὅπα μειγνύμενος αἰειόλ[οις κιθάρι]ο[ς μέλεσιν]  
[ᾶ]μα δ' ἴαχεμ πετροκατοίκητος ἀχ[ὼ παιὰν ἰὲ παιάν].

ὃ δὲ γέγα-  
θ', ὅτι νόωι δεξάμενος ἀαμβρόταν δω[-----]ν ἀνθ' ὧων  
ἐκείνας ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς Παιήονα κικλήισκ[ομεν -----] λαδὸς αὐτ[ο]-  
20 χθόνων ἡδὲ Βάκχου μέγας θυρσοπλῆ[ξ ἐσμὸς ἱ]ερὸς Τεχνι-  
τῶων ἔνοικοος πόλει Κεκροπίαι.

ἀλ[λὰ χρησμ]ωιδὸν  
ὃς ἔχειεις τρίποδα βαῖν' ἐπὶ θ<ε>οστιβ[έα τάνδε Π]αρναξ[σ]-  
σίαν δειράδα φιλένθεον.

ἀμφὶ πλόκ[αμον σὺ δ' οἱ]νῶφ[πα]  
δάφνας κλάδον πλεξάμενος ἀπ[λέτους -----]  
25 ἀαμβρόται χειρὶ σύρων, ἄναξ Γ[ᾶς -----]  
κόραι.



ἀλλὰ Λαατοῦς ἐρατογ[λέφαρε - - -]  
 [- - - - -]μ παῖδα Γᾱ[ας] τ' ἔπεφνες ἰοῖς ο[- - - - -]  
 πόθον ἔσχε ματρὸς [- - - - -]  
 θῆηρ' ἃ κατέκτ[α]ς οσ[- - - - -]  
 30 [σ]υύριγμ' ἀπ' ε[- - - -]ων[- - - - -]

[- - - - -]ἐπ[ε]φρούρει[εις] δὲ Γᾱ[ας] - - - - - ὁ βάρ]-  
 βαρος ἄρης ὅτε [τε]ὸμ μαντόσυ[νον πολυκυ]-  
 θες λη<ι>ζόμενος ὤλεθ' ὑγρᾱι χι[όνος - - - -] |

[(2 measures)]  
 σῶιζε θεόκτι[σ]τον Παλλάδος [- - - - -]  
 35 τε θεά, τόξων δεσπότη Κρησίω[ν - - - - -]  
 κυδίστ[α κ]αὶ ναέτας Δελφῶν τ[- - - - -]  
 βίοις δώμασιν ἀπταίστους Βάκχου [- - - - -]  
 μεῖς μόλ[ε]τε προσπόλοισ<ι> τάν τε δορίσ[- - - - -]  
 Ῥωμαίω[ν] ἀρχὰν αὔξετ' ἀγηράτωι θάλλ[ουσιν - - - - -]  
 40 νίκαν.

Another<sup>573</sup> *Paian* and processional for the god composed and accompanied to *kithara* by Limenios son of Thoinos:

Come to this far-seeing double peaked famed Parnassos and har[ken to my] hymns,  
 you daughters of Pieria who inhabit the snow-covered [Heli]koni[an] rocks,  
 and sing golden-haired far-shooting Pythios, the well-lyred Phoibos whom blessed  
 Leto bore by the [famous] shore after touching [the branch?] of the glaucous olive  
 with her hands...flourishing.

The whole heavenly vault rejoiced...aether held [the wandering ones?]. . .on their  
 courses...and ceased the loud-roaring [?] of Ner[eus]. . .and great Okeanos [made?]  
 the sea, he who embraces the whole [world] round [with his watery a]rms.

Then having left the island Cynthia [the god we]nt to famed Attica, first to bear fruits,  
 to the hi[ll]. . .of Tritonis.

<sup>573</sup> “Another” seems to be the force of the particle δὲ in line 1. Limenios’ hymn was inscribed directly above the *paian* by Athenaios, and was perhaps included later.

The Libyan lotus pouring out its honey-breathing song raised a strain, mixing the sweet voice with the nim[ble strains of the *kithar*]a. At the same time the rock-dwelling echo cries “*Paian le Paian!*”

He (Apollo) rejoiced, because having received the immortal [gift?] in his mind...in return for the cries ever since that time we invoke *Paian*...the autochthonous people and Bacchos' great thyrsos-stricken sacred swarm of *technitai* dwelling in the Kekropian city.

But you who hold the [prophe]tic tripod, come to this god-trodden frenzy-loving Parnassian ridge.

You, having twined the wine-colored branch of laurel about your hair...drawing imm[ense]...with your immortal hand, lord...daughters [of Earth?].

But, O [son of?] fair-eyed Leto...you struck the child of Ear[th] with arrows...had longing for the mother<sup>574</sup>...the wild one whom you killed...the hissing from...

[You] watched ov[er] the lan[d]...when the barbarian bane [attacked?] your oracular...plundering, it was destroyed in a storm of sn[ow].

Save the god-founded [city] of Pallas...and you goddess, ruler of the Kreta[n] bows...and [you] most noble one [protect the?] inhabitants of Delphi...[keep the servants of?] Bacchos secure in [their] lives [and] homes...[you all?] come with servants and... increase the [spear-won?] rule of the Romans that is growing with ageless [?]. victory

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<sup>574</sup> These lines (27-8) seem to refer to Tityos rather than Python. Both are offspring from Gaia, but only Tityos can be said to have had a desire for a mother, Leto (Pöhlmann and West 2001, 84). Lines 29-30 turn to the serpent.

**10. *FD*. III.2.69 (117/16 BCE?), 11-22, 28-32: Honorific Decree from the Amphictyony to the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai***

- [ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτύ]οσιν· *vacat* ἐπει[δὴ] γεγονέ[ναι κ]αὶ [συνειλέ]χθαι τεχνιτῶν  
 σύνοδον παρ' Ἀθηναίους συμβέβηκε πρῶτον, ὃν ὁ δῆμος, ἀ-  
 [πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρ]ώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀρχη[γὸς κατασταθε]ίς, ἐγ μὲν τοῦ θηριώδους  
 βίου μετήγαγεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἡμερότη-  
 [τα, παραίτιος δ' ἐγε]νήθη τ[ῆ]ς πρὸς ἀλλήλ[ους κοινωνί]ας, *vacat?* εἰσαγαγὼν τὴν  
 τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν, καὶ διὰ τούτων πα[ρα]γ-  
 [γείλας τοῖς ἅπασιν] ὅτι μ[έγιστον ἀγαθόν] ἐστὶν ἐν] ἀνθρώποις ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς  
 χρῆσις τε καὶ πίστις, ἔτι τε τῶν δοθέντων  
 15 [ὑπὸ θεῶν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ]πων νόμων [καὶ τῆς π]αιδείας· *vacat* ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ καρποῦ παραδόσεως ἰδία μὲν ἐδέξατο  
 [τὸ δῶρον. κοινὴν δὲ] τὴν ἐξ ἐ[α]υτ[οῦ] εὐχρ[ηστίαν τ]οῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπέδωκεν·  
 πρῶτός τε πάντων, συναγα<γ>ῶν τεχνιτῶν σύνοδον  
 [καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν, θ]υμελικ[οὺς καὶ σκ]ηνικ[οὺς] ἀγῶνας ἐποίησεν, οἷς καὶ συμβαίνει  
 μαρτυρεῖν μὲν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἰ-  
 [δίων τῆς πόλεως] ποιητῶ[ν, αὐτὴν] δὲ καὶ τ[ῆ]ν ἀλήθειαν ἐμφανῶς δεικνύειν,  
 ὑπομνησκουσιν ὅτι μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῶν  
 [δραμάτων ἀπάντων, τ]ρα[γωιδίαν κ]αὶ κωμω[δ]ίαν εὐροῦσά τε καὶ αὐξήσασα, ἐφ'  
 οἷς καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξάμενοι οἱ Ἀμφικτίο-  
 20 [νες τὸν δῆμον κ]α[ὶ] τοῦ[ς] περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν οὐδενὶ  
 τῶν συμφερόντων παρεωράκασιν [τὴν]  
 [σύνοδον. μάλισ]τα δὲ τὰ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν δ[ιατε]τελέκασιν συνχωροῦντες. τῶν  
 καλῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀξίους εἶναι  
 [ἡγούμενοι με]ταλαμβάνειν [τ]οὺς Ἀθήνησιν [τε]χνίτας·  
 . . .  
 28 . . . ὅπως οὖν οἱ Ἀμφικτύο-  
 [νες φαίνονται τοῦ τ]ε Διο[νύσου τοῦ Μελπομέ]νου, ὁμ[οίως τε κ]αὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν  
 τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθη-  
 30 [ναίων, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν τεχ]νιτῶν τὴν με[γ]ί[στην] ποιοῦμεν]οι πρόνοιαν· *vacat?*  
 δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν τοὺς ἱερεῖ[ς]  
 [τοὺς καθισταμένους ὑπὸ τῶ]ν τεχνιτῶν [τ]ῶ[ν ἐν Ἀθήναις χρ]υσοφορεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς  
 κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις κατὰ τὰ πά-  
 [τρια, ὁμοίως τε καὶ πορφυροφ]ορεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐξε[ῖ]να[ι κωλύειν αὐτοῦς] μήτε πόλιν  
 μήτ[ε ἄρ]χοντα μή[τε ἰδι]ώτην·

[It was resolved by the Amphicty]ons: Where[as] it happened that a *synodos* of *tech-*  
*nitai* exi[sted a]nd [was assem]bled for the first time among the Athenians, whose  
*demos*, [having been established? as] the founder of [all] good things [among] men,

transitioned men from a beastly life into domestici[ty] and was [responsible] for (their) [*koinoni*]a towards one anothe[r]; and having introduced the tradition of the (Eleusinian) mysteries, and through these having an[nounced to all] that the g[re]atest good among men [is] their interaction and mutual trust, and further that [from the gods] were given laws [and e]ducation for men. Similarly in the case of producing fruits, (the Athenian *demos*) received [the gift] in private, but gave it from itself to the Greeks as a [common] util[ity]. And having first of all gathered together a *synodos* of *technitai* [and competitors?], it created [th]ymeli[c and sc]enic contests, for which things it happens that very many p[ri]vate poets [of the city] bear testimony to demonstrate clearly that [this] is the truth; and they remind that Athens is the *metropolis* of [all dramas], having discovered and developed [t]ra[gedy] and comedy; for which reasons the Amphictyons, having often received [the *demos* a]nd the *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos who are in Athens, have in no instance neglected t[he *synodos*], but [especially h]aving acceded to them, they have c[ar]ried out things in favor of their repute and esteem, [deeming] these *technitai* in Athens to be worthy to have a share in good and reputable things.

...

And so, in order that the Amphictyons [may appear to] show the utmost care for Dio[nysus Melpome]nos and likewise the other gods who dwell in the *polis* of the Athe[nians], as well as the *koinon* of *tech[nitai]*, it was resolved by the Amphictyons that the priests [elected by the] *technitai* in Athens may wear gold for the gods throughout all the *poleis* according to the ancestral cust[oms], and likewise that they may wear pur[p]le, and that it not be possible for any *polis*, ruler, or private individual [to impede them].

**11. *F.D.* III.2.48 (98/7 BCE), 3-14: The Amphictyony Honors the Athenian *synodos* of *technitai* at the *Pythaid* of Argeios**

- ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυτον τεχνῖται οἱ ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ὁ ἐπι[μελητὰς] αὐτῶν  
 Ἀλέξαν[δρος Ἀ]ρίστωνος, [κωμικὸς]  
 ποητάς, εὐσεβῶς <ἔχοντες> ποτὶ τὸν θεῖον, καὶ τὸν αὐτοσαυτῶν δᾶμον τιμέ[οντ]ες,  
 καὶ συναύξειν αὐτῶν θέλοντες τὰ π[οτὶ τοὺς]  
 5 θεοὺς ἀνήκοντα διὰ τὸ πρῶτους αὐτοὺς εὐρέτας<sup>575</sup> γεγονέναι πᾶσ[ας π]αιδείας  
 καὶ σκανικῶν ἀγώνων κτιτά[ς, πάντων τῶν]  
 ποτὶ δόξαν διατεινόντων μάλιστα πεφροντίκην, ἐφ' οἷς τὰν τε ἀσ[υ]λίαν ἔχοντι καὶ  
 τᾶλλα τίμια ποτὶ τὰν ἀσφά[λειαν καὶ]  
 δόξαν διατεινόντα παρὰ τε Ἀμφικτιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλάνων καὶ [τ]ῶν  
 ἀγειμένων Ῥωμαίων· — νυνὶ τε, κατὰ τὰ [πάτρια]  
 καὶ τὰ προεσαφισμένα τὰν ἱερὰν νομιζομένην Πυθαΐδα δι' ἐννεετηρίδος [π]εμψάντων  
 Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τ[οῦ θεοῦ]  
 ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τέκνων <καὶ> γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν  
 φ[ί]λων καὶ συμμάχων, τὰς τε πατρίους θυσίας ἐπέ[θυ]-  
 10 σαν μεγαλομερῶς τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὰν πομπὰν ἐπεκόσμησαν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίω[ς τ]οῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ τᾶς πατρίδος τᾶς ἰδίας καὶ τᾶς συνόδου  
 καὶ τᾶς αὐτοσαυτῶν ἐμ πάντοις εὐφραμίας καὶ ἀρετᾶς, πολυπλασίονας [θυσί]ας καὶ  
 ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τὰν πρότερον ποιησά-  
 μενοι, — τὸν μὲν πάτριον παιᾶνα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὑμνήσαντες, ἀπ' ἀρ[χᾶ]ς δὲ  
 ἀγ[ώ]γων διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμης μέλψαντες τὸν [θε]-  
 [όν], κεχαρισμέναις δὲ καὶ ἀειμνήστοις χάρισιν τιμήσαντες τὸ[ν π]ατρῶιον [Ἀ]πόλλω,  
 δι' ὃν τὸν μὲν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας [δῆ]-  
 μον ἠ[ῦξ]ησαν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἀπένειμαν τιμὰς διὰ [τ]ῶν ἰδίων  
 ἐπι<τ>[ηδε]υμάτων...

Whereas the artists in the entourage of Dionysos who are in Athens and their *epimelētēs* Alexander son of Ariston, comic poet, being pious towards the god, honoring their own *demos*, and wishing to increase from themselves the things that are fitting for the gods because they were the first inventors of all education and the founders of all scenic contests, all of them exerting themselves towards esteem in a most thoughtful way; for which reasons they have *asylia* and all other honors that are sought for security and esteem from the Amphictyons and the other Greeks as well as the Roman hegemony. — And now, according to ancestral customs and earlier de-

<sup>575</sup> Colin (*F.D.* III.2.48) and Jacquemin et al. (*Choix* 202): εὐ<ε>ρ<γ>έτας. I find the restoration unnecessary in light of the parallels between the claim that the *technitai* “discovered” *paideia* and the larger panegyric claims made by the Amphictyony in *F.D.* III.2.69 (see above).

crees, with the Athenians having sent the Pythaid that is considered sacred on the ninth year according to the oracle of the (god) for the well-being and safety of all the citizens, children, women, friends, and allies; they (the *technitai*) made the ancestral sacrifices sumptuously to the god, and they adorned the procession beautifully and in a way worthy of the god, their own fatherland, the *synodos*, and their very own good reputation and *arete* in all things, having made many more sacrifices and first fruit offerings and oversights than before — Having sung, on the one hand, the ancestral *paian* magnificently and having celebrated the god in song, on the other hand, from the beginning of the contests through their own expertise, and having honored additionally Apollo *Patroios* with favors that were pleasing and everlasting in remembrance, through which they exalted their *demos* as the originator of piety so far as they were able [?], and also distributed honors to the god through their own pursuits.

**12. F.D. III.2.70, 19-66 (112/1 BCE): Dossier of the *senatus consultum* of 112/1 BCE resolving the quarrel between the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon* and the Athenian *synodos***

- ...οὔτε
- [ταῖς] συνθήκαι[ς] ἐμ<μ>ένουσιν, τῆς τε [ἐ]ργασίας ὑπαρχ[ούσ]ης [ἡμᾶς  
ἀποκ]ωλ[ύου]σ[ι] παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον], τά τε χρή-
- 20 [ματ]α ἡμῶν τὰ ὄ[ν]τα κοινὰ ἐξειδιάσ[ζον]ται, συνε[λ]θόντες τε εἰς [Σικυῶνα]  
σύνοδον [ἐ]ποι[ήσαντο] παρὰ τὸ δό-  
[γμ]α τῆς συγκλή[τ]ου τὸ ἐπὶ Ποπ[λίου Κορν]ηλίου, ἐν ᾧ ἔδοξεν ἡμᾶ[ς]  
συμπ[ορεύεσθαι] ἐν Θήβ[αις] καὶ Ἄρ[γυ]ει, κα[ὶ]  
ἀρχεῖα κατέστ[ησαν], καὶ τῶ[ν] κοινῶν χρη[μ]άτων τὰς προσό[δους] κ[α]τεχρήσαντ[ο]  
.....]
- παρὰ τοῦ[ς] κοινοῦ[ς] νόμους τῶν τεχνι[τῶν], πρεσβευόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Ῥ[ώμην], κ[αὶ]  
καλού[ντων] τὴν σύγκλητον· τὸ δὲ]  
[μέγιστον. οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο, ἀ]λλὰ καὶ, δόγμα ἡμῶν λαβόντων  
.....]
- 25 [.....] τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας [ἡ]μῖν, οὐδ[ὲν] ἔλασσαν τ[ῆς] τε ἐργασίας  
ἡμᾶς ἀ-  
[ποκω]λύουσι, τά τε χρήματα ἡμῶν ἐξιδιάζονται, σ[ύ]νοδόν [τε] ἐν Σ[ικυῶνι]  
συν[άγουσι] παρὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς συν-  
[κλήτου] τὸ ἐπὶ Κορνηλίου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ[ς] χρησιμοῦ[ς] τοῦ [Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀξιοῦ]μεν  
οὖν τὴν σύγκλητον ἵνα π[α]-  
[.....]ς ἐκατέρωι [.....] ἡμῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν τριῶν μερῶν  
[..... vacat? καὶ] περὶ ὧν οἱ π[ρεσβευταὶ] ἀπὸ τ[ῶν] περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον  
τεχνιτῶν ἐξ-
- 30 [αποσταλέντες τῶν συντελούντων] ἐς Ἴσθμόν [καὶ Νεμέαν], Σωσικλείδας  
Φιλοκράτου, Δαμίξενος  
[....., Πο]λυκράτης [....., Φί]λιππος Ἡρώδου, ἐνεφάνισαν τῇ  
συνκλήτῳ  
[ὅτι οἱ τεχνίται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντες, π]οισάμεν[οι] κατηγ[ορίαν] κατῆς συνόδου ἐπὶ  
τοῦ στρ<τα>γοῦ ἐμ Μακε-  
δονία ....., γραμμά]των ἀποδ[οθέντων] τῇ συνόδῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ  
στρα<τη>γοῦ ὅπως  
πρεσβευτὰς ἀπο[στ]είλωμεν ἐν [ἡ]μέραις [...]. καί, ἀπ[ο]στειλ[άντων] ἡμῶν  
πρεσβ[ευτὰς] π[ερ]ὶ ὧν ὁ στρα]-
- 35 τηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀμολογιουμένους αὐτῷ, Διονύσιον, Ἀνδρόνικον, Φιλοκράτην,  
Δ[ράκ]οντα,  
τούσδε περὶ ὧν μὲν ε<ῖ>χον τὰς ἐντολὰς μὴ ἐπιτελέσαι, καταφρονήσαντ<α>ς δὲ τοῦ  
τε τῆς συγκλήτου

δόγματος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἐλθόντας εἰς Πέλλαν συνθήκας  
 ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐν Ἀθήναις φ[άσκ]οντας εἶναι τεχνίτας, ἐπιτίμιον ἐπιγράψαντ<α>ς κατὰ τῆς συνόδου  
 τάλαντα δέκα·  
 ἐφ' οἷς, καὶ [δο]θέντων αὐτοῖς ἐγκλημάτων κατὰ τοὺς τῆς συνόδου νόμους, παρόντες  
 ἐν Θήβαις κα-  
 40 τάδικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, προσλαβόμενοι τ[ι]νας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις καὶ Βιωτίαι  
 τεχνιτῶν, τὰ τε  
 γράμματα τὰ κοινὰ ἀπῆλθον ἔχοντες μετὰ βίας, καὶ, ἀποστάται γενόμενοι, καθ' ἰδίαν  
 σύνοδον ἐ-  
 ποιοῦντο μετ' ἀλλήλων, ὑπεναντία πρᾶτ<τ>οντες τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς νόμοις,  
 τὴν τε δικ[αι]-  
 οδοσίαν διέκοψαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν, τίνας ἱερεωσύνας ε<ῖ>χον ἐπενεγύων, τὰ τε χρήματα  
 καὶ τ[ᾶ]  
 ἀναθήματα ἀπῆλθον ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς ἱρoὺς στεφάνους, ἃ καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέδωκαν οὐδὲ  
 ἕως τοῦ  
 45 νῦν, τὰς θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς ἐκώλυνον ποιεῖν καθὼς εἰθισμένον ἦν τῇ συνόδῳ τῷ τε  
 Διον[ύ]-  
 σῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς εὐεργέταις Ῥωμαίοις. ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν τὴν  
 σύγκλη-  
 τον, γεγонеῖαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις παρα<ιτί>αν τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν τῇ  
 συνόδῳ[ι],  
 συντηρῆσαι τὰ ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων δεδομένα τίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, καὶ φροντίσαι  
 ὅπως ἀ-  
 ποδοθῇ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ οἱ στέφανοι τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ κοινῇ τῇ  
 συντελοῦσῃ  
 50 Ἴσθμὸν καὶ Νεμέαν, ἃ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐν Θήβαις τεχνῖται καὶ τινες τῶν ἐγ Βοιωτίας  
 ἀποσστά[ται]  
 γεγεννημένοι, τὰς τε συνθήκας ἃς ἐποίησαντο ἵνα ἄκυροι γένωνται, ἐπεὶ ἐποι<ή>σαντο  
 [...]  
 [......]σται παρὰ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτοῖς ἐντολάς, καὶ γέγοναν ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 κατάδικοι [κατὰ τοὺς]  
 τ[ῆς συνόδ]ου νόμους, ὅπως τε οἱ νόμοι τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας τεχνιτῶν κύριοι  
 ᾧσιν. *vac.* περὶ τοῦ[των]  
 τῶν [πρα]γμάτων οὕτως ἔδοξεν· Ἀθηναίοις πρεσβευταῖς φιланθρώπως ἀποκριθῆναι·  
 ἄνδρας καλοὺς κα[ὶ]  
 55 ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φίλους παρὰ δήμου καλοῦ καγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου συμμάχου τε ἡμετέρου  
 προσαγορεῦσαι· χάρι[τα],  
 φιλίαν, συμμαχίαν τε ἀνανεώσασθαι. περὶ δὲ ὧν πραγμάτων λόγους ἐποίησαντο, τί  
 ἠρώτησαν ἢ <ἐ>ψηφίσ[αν]-



το ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ τεχνῖται οἱ ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας ὧι ἔλασσον ἅμα μετ' αὐτῶν οἱ  
 τεχνῖται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ]  
 ὄντες ἐργασίαν ποιῶσιν, τοῦτο ὅπως ἄρῳσιν· ὁ δὲ σύμφωνον γεγονός ἐστιν τοῖς  
 τεχνίταις τοῖς ἐν  
 τῇ Ἀττικῇ οὖσιν καὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις τοῖς ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας ἐπὶ Γναίου Κορνηλίου  
 Σισέννα στρατηγοῦ]  
 60 ἢ ἀνθυπάτου ἐκεῖ ὄντος σύμφωνον ἐστάναι ἔδοξεν. ὅπου τὸ πρότερον ἐκ  
 σ>υγκλήτου δόγματος τὰς  
 συνόδους αὐτῶν ποιεῖν ἠώθασιν, ἐκεῖ αἱ σύνοδοι μετὰ ταῦτα ὅπως γίνονται· ἔδοξεν.  
 περὶ δὲ  
 χρημάτων δημοσίων ἢ κοινῶν περὶ ὧν λόγους ἐποιήσαντο, ὅπως πρὸς Μάαρκον  
 Λεῖβιον ὕπατον προ[σ]-  
 ελθῶσιν, οὗτός τε ἐπιγνῶι, ἐπικρίνη οὕτως καθὼς <ἂν> αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων  
 πραγμάτων πίστεώς  
 τε ἰδία<ς> φαίνεται· ἔδοξεν. ὅπως τε Λεύκιος Καλπόρνιος ὕπατος Ἀθηναίοις ξένια  
 κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα  
 65 τὸν ταμίαν ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύσει, οὕτως καθὼς ἂν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων  
 πίστεώς  
 τε ἰδία<ς> φαίνεται· ἔδοξεν.

**19-23:** Nor do they abide by the agreements, and while we are taking the initiative in the work, they impede us unjustly and appropriated our money which is meant to be common, and after convening at Sikyon they made a *synodos* against the decree of the Senate under Publius Cornelius, in which it was resolved that we make joint visits in Thebes and Argos, and they established magistracies and used revenues from the common fund towards their own expenditures against the common laws of the *technitai*, while we are sending ambassadors to Rome and calling the Senate.

**23-31:** (This is) The most important thing: they (the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*) did not even obey the senate, but rather when we received a decree in which...and...those arguing against us, (they do) nothing less than prevent us from our work and appropriate our money and gather a *synodos* in Sikyon, all against the decree of the Senate under Cornelius and against the oracles of Apollo. We therefore think it best that the senate [?] in order that...to each (of us?)...except for the three parts...concerning which the ambassadors from the *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysus dispatched by those who travel together to Isthmos and Nemea — Sosikleidas son of Philokrates, Damoxenos...Polykrates...(and) Philippos son of Herodos, they (the Isthmian-Nemean *koinon*) declared to the Senate:

**32-8:** “The *Technitai* who are in Attica having made an accusation against the *synodos* before the general in Macedonia, Cornelius Sisenna, and after letters were sent to the *synodos* by them by the general so that we may send ambassadors in [?] days...and we sent ambassadors, by the general’s orders, to make a case before him — Dionysios, Andronikos, Philokrates, and Drakon — those particular men concerning whom they did not decide to obey orders, having disregarded the decree of the Senate and the general and the *synodos* went to Pella to make agreements with those in Athens who claim to be *Technitai* and reached a verdict against the *synodos* for the amount of ten talents.

**39-53:** “After which things, when charges were brought against them in accordance with the laws of the *synodos*, those who were present in Thebes were convicted, and because of these things they enrolled some of the *technitai* in Thebes and Boeotia and departed with force in possession of the common (public?) archives and, after defecting, they formed their own *synodos* with one another acting completely against the *synodos* and the common laws, and they divided the jurisdiction of the *technitai*, and gave away some priesthoods they had as surety, and left in possession of money and offerings and sacred crowns, which they have not returned at all up to this point in time. They have prevented us from performing the sacrifices and libations established by the *synods* both for Dionysus and the other gods and to the Romans, our common benefactors. We therefore ask the Senate, which in earlier times has been the cause of the greatest goods for the *synodos*: to maintain the honors and privileges that have been granted since older times; to consider that it restore the money and dedications and crowns to the common (*koinon*) *synodos* that contributes towards Isthmos and Nemea, things which the *technitai* in Thebes and some of those who have become defectors from those out of Boeotia; and we ask that the agreements which they reached be deemed invalid, since the ambassadors [from our ranks] were made in violation of the commands that were given to them, and by reason of these things they have become guilty according to the laws of the *synodos*. [We ask these] so that the laws of the *technitai* from Isthmia and Nemea be deemed valid.”

**53-end:** Concerning these matters, it was resolved thusly: to rule favorably for the Athenian ambassadors, to address them as “good, fine and dear men from a good fine and dear people and our dear ally”, and to renew our goodwill, friendship and alliance. Concerning the matters for which they made their arguments, anything that the *technitai* from Isthmos and Nemea petitioned or ratified in which the *technitai* who are in Attica get less work in their dealings with them is to be struck. As for the agreement that was made between those in Attica and those from Isthmos in Nemea before Gnaeus Cornelius Sisenna, who was general or proconsul there, it was resolved

that the agreement stand. Wherever they were accustomed to make their *synodoi* before the decree of the Senate, it was resolved that the *synodoi* remain thus after these matters. As for the public (*demosion*) or shared (*koinon*) concerning which they made their arguments, it was resolved that they [the two parties] go to the consul Marcus Livius, and that he investigate and rule as seems correct to him according to the public interests and his own own conscience. It was also resolved that the consul Lucius Calpurnius order a quaestor according to the edict to send gifts to the Athenians as seems correct to him according to the public interests and his own conscience.

**13. OGIS 50 (mid to late third century BCE):<sup>576</sup> The Ptolemaic Association in Upper Egypt Honors Dionysios son of Musaios**

- ἔδοξεν τοῖς τεχνίταις τοῖς περὶ τὸν  
Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῖς  
τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν, στεφανῶσαι  
5 Διονύσιον Μουσαίου πρύτανιν διὰ βίου  
κισσοῦ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εὐνοίας  
ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πτολεμαίων  
καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς [περὶ] τὸν μέγαν  
Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς.  
10 ἀναγ[ορε]ῦσαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον τοῖς  
Διονυσίοις καὶ ἀναγραφῆναι [τὸ]  
ψηφισ[μα] τόδε εἰς στή[λ]ην [καὶ] ἀναθεῖναι  
πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Διονύσου. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα  
τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην δοῦναι τὸν οἰ[κον]όμο[ν]  
Σωσίβιον.

It was resolved by the artists who are in the entourage of Dionysos and the *Theoi Adelphoi* as well as those who manage the *synodos*: to crown Dionysios son of Musaios, *prytanis* for life, with a crown of ivy according to ancestral custom in recognition of his goodwill which he has shown towards the *polis* of Ptolemaïs and the artists who are in the entourage of the great Dionysos and the *Theoi Adelphoi*. (Further resolved:) to announce the crown at the *Dionysia* and to inscribe this very decree on a stele and place it before the temple of Dionysos. (Resolved:) that the treasurer Sosibios is to give the expense for the stele.

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<sup>576</sup> Based on references to the cult of the *theoi Adelphoi* (i.e. Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoë II), scholars conventionally date OGIS 50 (Ep. Cat. 13) and 51 (Ep. Cat. 14) either in the later part of the reign of Philadelphos or early in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (249 - 221 BCE). 272 BCE, the year in which the cult was instituted (see Hölbl 1999, 95 and n.95) is a secure *terminus post quem*, though scholars disagree on whether to consider 249 BCE (the death of Philadelphos) a *terminus ante quem* (see Le Guen 2001 I 294 and n. 977 in favor, though Dunand 1986 suggests that a date early in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (ca. 240 BCE) is "probable" (86 n. 3).

**14. *OGIS* 51 (mid to late third century BCE)<sup>577</sup>: The Ptolemaic Association in Upper Egypt Honors Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios**

ἔδοξεν τεχνίταις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ  
 θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς· ν ἐπειδὴ Λυσίμαχος Πτολεμαίου  
 Σωστρατεύς, ὁ ἱπάρχης καὶ πρύτανις διὰ βίου, τὴν τε  
 εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς τούτου γονεῖς εὖνοϊαν  
 καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων ἀπο- 5  
 δέδεικται, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει,  
 τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται,  
 καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντι-  
 λαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συν- 10  
 επιδίδους εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα,  
 καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπι-  
 σημαιομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς,  
 δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν  
 ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπογέγραπται, στεφανῶσαι 15  
 Λυσίμαχον κιττοῦ στ<ε>φάνῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια  
 τῇ ια' τοῦ Περιτίου μηνὸς τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἀρετῆς  
 ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τε βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον  
 καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς καὶ εὖνοίας  
 τῆς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς τούτου γονεῖς καὶ τῇ[ς] 20  
 εἰς τοὺς τεχνίτας, τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ. ἀναθεῖναι δ' αὐτ[οῦ]  
 καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῇ προστάδι τοῦ πρυτανείου.  
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 Δήμαρχον τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε εἰς στήλην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι  
 πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Διονύσου· τὸ δ' εἰς ταῦτ' ἀνάλωμα 25  
 δοῦναι τὸν οἰκονόμον Σωσίβιον.  
 Ζώπυρος ὁ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς τριετηρίδος καὶ  
 ἀμφιετηρίδος καὶ τούτου ἀδελφοί·

Διονύσιος	τραγῳδός	αὐλητὴς τραγικὸς[ς]	
Ταυρίνος	Μητρόδωρος	Θραικίδης	30
τραγῳδιῶν ποιηταί	κωμωιδοί	σαλπικτής	
Φαίνιππος	Τελέμαχος	Θρασύμαχος	
Διόγνητος	Ἀγαθόδωρος	σκευοποιός· Βάτων	
κωμωιδιῶν ποιηταί	Ἀπολ[λῶνιο]ς	πρόξενοι	
Στράταγος	Ἀσκληπιό[δ]ωρος	Δημήτριος	35
Μουσαῖος	Ἀπολλωνίου	Φαίδιμος	
ἐπῶν ποιηταί	Ἀπο[λλ]ώνιος	Ἀρτεμ[ίδωρος]	
Δήμαρχος	Διόδωρος	Σπουδί[αιος]	
Θεογένης	συναγωνιστὰι τραγικοί	Διονύσιο[ς]	
Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἄρχωνος	φιλοτεχνῖται	40
κιθαρωιδός	Κλεῖτος	Δημήτριος	
Μένιππος	[Π]τολεμαῖος	Στέφανος	
κιθαριστής	[Ζώ]πυρος	Λέων	
Ἡράκλειτος	[Σά]τυρος	Ἀρτεμίδωρος	
ὀρχηστής	[χορ]οδιδ[ά]σκ[αλος]	Δημήτριος	45
Πτολεμα[ῖος]	— — —	Ἀριστόνους	
— — —		— — —	

Resolved by the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and the *Theoi Adelphoi*: Whereas Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios of the Sostratic deme, the *hipparchos* and *prytanis* for life, has shown good will towards the king and his parents, both before and even still today in many ways, and he happens to be of a pious and holy disposition towards Dionysos and the other gods, and he treats the *technitai* benevolently in all things, and he helps each one individually and everyone as a *koinon* wholeheartedly, having dedicated himself zealously towards growing the *techniteuma*; and (whereas) it is good to honor with suitable honors those sorts of men who have distinguished themselves, it has been resolved by the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos, whose names are written below, to crown Lysimachos with a crown of ivy according to ancestral custom on the eleventh day of the month Peritios at the *Dionysia* because of his virtue and his piety towards King Ptolemy and Dionysos and the other gods as well as his goodwill towards the king and his parents and towards the *technitai*, with Good Fortune! (Further resolved:) to dedicate a carved image of him in the portico of the prytaneion, and that Demarchos the secretary inscribe this decree of the *koinon* on a stele and place it before the temple of Dionysos. (Resolved:) that the treasurer Sosibios give the expense for these things. Zopyros, the one in charge of the rites for the triennial and annual festival, and his brothers...

Dionysios  
Taurinos

Tragic Actor  
Metrodoros

Tragic Piper  
Thraikides

Tragic Poets  
 Phainippos  
 Diognetos  
 Comic Poets  
 Stratagos  
 Mousaios  
 Epic Poets  
 Demarchos  
 Theogenes  
 Artemidoros  
 Singer to a *Cithara*  
 Menippos  
*Cithara* Player  
 Herakleitos  
 Dancer  
 Ptolemaios  
 . . .

Comic Actors  
 Telemachos  
 Agathodoros  
 Apollonios  
 Asklepiodoros Apolloniou  
 Apollonios  
 Diodoros  
 Tragic Synagonists  
 Apollonides Archonos  
 Kleitos  
 Ptolemaios  
 Zopyros  
 Chorus Director  
 . . .

Trumpeter  
 Thrasyrnachos  
 Mask Maker{?} Baton  
*Proxeno*  
 Demetrios  
 Phaidimos  
 Artemidoros  
 Spoudias  
 Dionysios  
*Philotechnitai*  
 Demetrios  
 Stephanos  
 Leon  
 Artemidoros  
 Demetrios  
 Aristonous  
 . . .

**15. I.Magnesia 54, 22-40 (207/6 or 206/5 BCE): The artists accept the crowned *Leukophryeneia* at Magnesia on the Maeander**

- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν  
Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν [ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν τὴν θυσίαν]  
καὶ τὰς ἐκεχειρίας κ[αὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅν] τιθ[έασι Μά]-  
25 γνητες στεφανίτην ἰ[σοπ]ύθιον, [ἐπὶ σωτ]ηρίαὶ καὶ ὑγι-  
εῖαι καὶ ὁμονοίαι τῶ[ν τεχνι]τῶν [κ]αὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ  
Μαγνήτων, εἶναι δὲ αὐ[τῶν τήν τε] πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώ-  
ραν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλόν[α κατὰ] τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν,  
ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν [δῆμον] τὸν Μαγνήτων καὶ στε-  
30 φανῶσαι στεφάνῳ τῷ[ι ἐκ] τοῦ νόμου ε[ὐ]σ[ε]βείας ἕνεκεν  
τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἀνα[γγεῖ]λαι [δὲ] τὸν στέφανον ἐν μὲν  
τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν τεχνιτῶν τὴν ἀναγγελίαν ποιη-  
σαμένου τοῦ ἀγων[ο]θ[έ]του, ἐν δὲ [Μ]αγνησίᾳ ἐν τῷ  
ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ[ι· ἀποστ]έλλεσθαι καὶ θεωροὺς  
35 νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν [ἅπαντα] χρόνον ἐκ πάντων τῶν  
τεχνιτῶν τρεῖς, [δοῦναι δὲ] α[ὐ]τοῖς τοὺς μερι[σ]τὰς[ς]  
εἰς θυσίαν ὅσον [ἂν τάξῃ ἡ] σύνοδος, οἱ δὲ χειροτονη-  
θέντες ἀφικόμεν[οι εἰς Μαγν]ησίαν μετεχέτωσαν  
τῆς πανηγύ[ρεως καὶ συμπ]ομπευέτωσαν [εἰς τε]  
40 τ[ο]ῦς [ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν θυσί]αν...

Good fortune! It was resol[ved by the *koinon* of] artists [in the entourage of] Dionysos [on the one hand to accept the sacrifice], the truce, a[nd the contest that the Magn]esians est[ablished] as crowned and i[sop]ythian, [for the saf]ety and well-be-  
ing and unanimity of th[e artis]ts [a]nd the *demos* of the Magnesians, and (it was re-  
solved) on the other hand that [their] city and country is sacred and inviolable [ac-  
cording to] the oracle of the god, and furthermore to praise the [*demos*] of the Magne-  
sians and crown it with a crown according to the law for their piety towards the di-  
vine, and to ann[oun]ce the crown in both the *panegyris* of the a[rtist]s with the  
*agonothete* making the announcement and at Magnesia in the gymnic contes[t; and (it  
was further resolved) to dis]patch three *theoroi* both now and for [all] time from all  
the artists, [and to give] to them however great a portion towards the sacrifice as the  
*synodos* [allots], and those who have been chosen comi[ng to Magn]esia participate in  
the *panegyris* and in the procession [towards the contests and sacrific]ice...



**16. I.Magnesia 89 (206/5 or 205/4 BCE): The Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* honors the Magnesian *theoroi* who proclaimed the *Leukophryeneia* before them**

- [ὅ]πως οὖν φαίνεται τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε[χνι]-  
 [τ]ῶν τιμῶν τὴν τε τῆς θεᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὸν δῆ[μον]  
 τὸν Μαγνήτων, τύχηι τῇ ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῷ κο[ινῷ]  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν· κατεύχεσθαι ἐν τα[ῖς θυσί]-  
 25 αῖς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῇ τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς π[όλεως]  
 τῆς Μαγνήτων καθότι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ· ἐνφ[ανίζετω]-  
 σαν δὲ οἱ θεωροὶ Μάγνησιν, διότι φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλ[είπει τὸ]  
 κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν εἰς τὸ συναύξε[ιν τὰ τίμι]-  
 α καὶ ἔνδοξα τῇ πό<λ>ει τῇ Μαγνήτων· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ π[ρότερον οἱ ἄ]-  
 30 [π]οσταλέντες θεωροὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Ἐπίκουρος Ἀγαρίστ[ου, Πυθό]-  
 [δοτος Χαρισίου, Πρύτανις Πυρωνίδου παρεπεδήμησ[αν ἀξι]-  
 [ω]ς τοῦ Μαγνήτων δήμου καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σον τε]-  
 [χνι]τῶν καὶ τὰς θυσίας συνετέλεσαν καλῶς καὶ ἐνδό[ξως καὶ]  
 [π]ολλοῖς τε τῶν τεχνιτῶν εὐχρήστους ἑαυτοὺς παρ[εσ]κεύα]-  
 35 [σ]αν καὶ κοινῇ τῆς συνόδου πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ κοι-  
 [ν]ὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπήνεσέν τε α[ὐ]τοὺς  
 [κ]αὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν στεφάνῳ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, νυνὶ τ[ε] πάλιν  
 [προ]θύμους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχον εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ[σιν] συνό]-  
 [δῳ]

And so, in order that the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos appear to honor both the epiphany of the goddess and the *demos* of the Magnesians, Good Fortune! It was resolved by the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos to pray in t[he sacri]fices to Artemis Leukophryene, founder of the *p[olis]* of the Magnesians, just as (they do) to Apollo Pythios. And let the *theoroi* make it clear to the Magnesians exactly why the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos in no way lacks ambition for augmenting the h[onors] and estimable things for the *polis* of the Magnesians. And whereas even e[arlier] the *theoroi* who were dispatched by the *demos* — Epikouros son of Agaristos, [Pythod]otos son of Charisios, and Prytanis son of Pyronidos — were guests whose behavior was worthy of the *demos* of the Magnesians and the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos, and celebrated sacrifices well and estimably and made themselves useful to many of the artists and made forethought for the whole of the *synodos*, for which reasons the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos both praised them and crowned them with a crown according to the law, and now they present themselves again as zealous for the interests of [the *synodos*].

**17. I.Iasos 152 (mid-2nd c. BCE), 17-25:<sup>578</sup> The Ionian-Hellespontine *Koinon* Organizes the *Dionysia* at Iasos**

...τοὺς δὲ νεμηθέντας πάντας ἐπι-  
τελ<έ>σαι τοὺς τῶν Διονυσίων ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς ὁρισμένοις καιροῖς  
πάντα παρασχόντας ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς Ἰασέων νόμοις· ὃς δὲ τῶν  
20 νεμ<η>θέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ παραγένηται εἰς Ἰασὸν ἢ μὴ [ἐπιτε]-  
λ[έ]σῃ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀποτεισάτω τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε-  
χνιτῶν Ἀντιοχ[εῖ]ας δραχμὰς χιλίας ἱερὰς ἀπαραιτήτους τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ  
τις δι' ἀσθένειαν ἢ διὰ χειμῶνα ἀδύνατος γένηται· τούτῳ δὲ ἔστω παραι-  
τησις τῆς ζημίας ἀπολογισαμένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐμφανεῖς τὰς  
25 δεῖξεις εἰσενεγκαμένῳ καὶ ἀπολυθέντι ψήφῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον·

...(It was resolved by the *koinon* that) all those having been assigned to take part in the contests of the *Dionysia* at the determined times will provide everything in accordance with the laws of the Iasians. Whoever of those who have been assigned by the *plēthos* who does not appear in Iasos or does not take part in the contests, let him pay a fine to the *koinon* of *technitai* in the entourage of Dionysos in the amount of 1000 Antiochean drachmas sacred and inalienable of the god, unless the person was unable due to illness or bad weather. For this person let there be an exemption of the fine (provided that) he has made a defense before the *plēthos* having brought forward clear evidence and having been acquitted by a vote according to the law.

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<sup>578</sup> The precise date of this decree is difficult to determine, as the text does not include the names of any local magistrates from Iasos, but only the names of artists in the *koinon* who are otherwise unknown. See Le Guen 2001 I, 265-6 and 268 for a summary of discussion on the issue of dating the decree, which she helpfully provides in lieu of her own argument for a precise date. Crowther (1995, 232) and Strang (2007, 263 n. 47) prefer a date in the 150s BCE, while Migeotte (1993, 286) argues that it could date later in the third quarter of the second century.

**18. SEG 2.580 (229-223 or 218-204 BCE):<sup>579</sup> The *Ktēmatonia* Decree for the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*.**

- ] ΟΙ [- ----- εὔχεσθαι]<sup>580</sup>  
 [τὸν ἱερ]έα το[ῦ Διονύσου ἐν τοῖς Διονυσί]οις καὶ [τὸν]  
 [πρ]ύτανιν ἐν τῷ πρυ[τανείῳ καὶ τὸν ἱε]ροκήρυκα [ἐν]  
 [τ]αῖς ἐκκλησίαις γίνεσθαι τάγαθὰ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶ[ν πε]-  
 5 [ρὶ τ]ὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν· ἀγοράσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ κ[τῆ]-  
 [μα] ἔγγεον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ χώρῃ ἀπὸ δρα(χμῶν) ΠΧ  
 [καὶ] προσαγορεύεσθαι τὸ ἀγορασθὲν κτῆμα ἱερὸν ὃ ἀν[ατίθη]-  
 [σι] ὁ δῆμος τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τ[ε]-  
 [χ]νιτῶν, ὃν ἀτελὲς ὢν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν· ἀ[πο]-  
 10 δεῖξαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας δύο οἵτινες κτηματωνήσου[σιν]  
 [ἐ]π' ἀναφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἀργύριο[ν]  
 [ὑ]πάρχῃ εἰς τὴν κτηματωνίαν, τοὺς ταμίαις τοὺς [ἐ]-  
 [ν]εστηκότας δοῦναι τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις δρα(χμᾶς)  
 [Χ]ΧΧ ἐκ τοῦ μετενηνεγμένου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ὀ[χυ]-  
 15 [ρ]ώσεως ὃ δέδοται εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου· τὸ δὲ ὑπ[ο]-  
 [λι]πὲς δρα(χμᾶς) ΧΧΧ δότωσαν οἱ εἰσιόντες ταμίαι ἐκ τ[ῶν]  
 [πρ]ώτων δοθησομένων αὐτοῖς ἐγ βασιλικοῦ εἰς τ[ὴν]  
 [τῆ]ς πόλεως διοίκησιν· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπο-  
 [χῇ]ν ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ μηνὸς Λευκαθεῶνος καὶ πρυτ[άνε]-  
 20 [ως] Μητροδώρου· ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δήμ[ωι]  
 [πά]ντες εἰδῶσιν, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς [στή]-  
 [λη]ν λιθίνην καὶ τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἀναθεῖναι παρὰ  
 [τὸ]ν νεὸς τοῦ Διονύσου· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν παρ[α]-  
 [στά]δα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν στέφαν[ον·]  
 25 [τῆ]ς δὲ ἀναγραφῆς τῶν στεφάνων <ι> καὶ ψηφίσματ[ος]  
 [καὶ τ]ῆς στήλης τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν ἔγδοσιν π[ο]-  
 [ιεῖσθ]ωσαν οἱ ἐνεστηκότες ταμίαι καὶ τὸ ἀνάλωμ[α]  
 [δότη]ωσαν οἱ ἐνεστηκότες ταμίαι· τοὺς δὲ π<ρ>εσβ[ευ]-  
 [τάς] τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ψήφι[σ]-

<sup>579</sup> The date of this decree is debated but must belong to the last quarter of the third century BCE. The *terminus post quem* is the pirate attack of 230 BCE, which prompted the construction of the fortification wall at Teos that is mentioned in the decree. The *terminus ante quem* is 204 BCE, when Teos inscribed an honorific decree for Attalos III and Laodike, in which the artists are mentioned (Le Guen 2001 I TE 42). A reference to the Attalid *basilikon* fund in lines 17-18 restricts the dating possibilities to periods of Attalid control at Teos during this 30-year stretch: 229-222 BCE or 218-204 BCE. Aneziri (2003: 376) further notes that the letterforms of the decree are very similar to those referring to the pirate attack in 230, though does not choose between the two possibilities. Le Guen (2001 I: 207-9) argues that the text must date to the second of these two periods based on prosopographical grounds, though her argument does not convince Strang, who, like Aneziri, sees both possibilities as equal (2007, 254 n. 13).

<sup>580</sup> Le Guen 2001 I TE 39, 1: [- ----- εὔχεσθαι]

30 [μα τόδ]ε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις καὶ ἐπ[αι]-  
 [νέσαι α]ὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἣν ἔχοντες διατε-  
 [λοῦσι] περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Τηίων. ἀπεδείχθη-  
 [σαν κτ]ηματονήσοντες vacat  
 [...6...]ς Ἐπιτιμίδου, vacat Θερσίων Φάνου.

...(it was resolved) that [the pri]est of [Dionysos at the Dionys]ia, and [the *pry*]tanis in the pry[taneion, and the h]erald [in t]he assemblies, [pray] that good things come to pass for the *koinon* of artists [in the entourage] of Dionysos. (It was resolved) also to buy for them a unit of p[roperty], in the city or in the countryside, at a value of six thousand drachmas and (it was resolved) also that the purchased property be declared sacred, which the *demos* de[dedicates] to the *koinon* of ar[ti]sts in the entourage of Dionysos, being exempt from the taxes that the city assesses. (it was resolved) also to a[pp]oint two men who will purchase the property with the approval of the *demos*. In order that [th]ere be money for the purchase of the property, (it was resolved) that the [ap]pointed treasurers give to the men who will be selected three thousand drachmas from (the money) that has been transferred from the account for the fortification, which is given towards the price of grain. Let the incoming treasurers give the rem[ain]ing three thousand drachmas from t[he fir]st funds that will be given to them from the royal fund for the administration of the city. And (it was resolved) to give to them a five-year del[ay] in repayment from the month of Leukatheon, in the pry[tany] of Metrodoros. And in order that all may see the things that were decreed by the people, (it was resolved) to inscribe this decree on a white [stel]e along with a crown and to place them beside the temple of Dionysos. And (it was resolved) to inscribe this decree and the crown on the parastade of the theater. And let the appointed treasurers un[dertake] the preparation for the inscribing of the crowns and the decree and the stele and let the appointed treasurers [giv]e the sum. And (it was resolved) that the ambass[adors] who have been chosen give th[is de]cree to the artists in the entourage of Dionysos and pr[aise t]hem for the goodwill which they have and demon[strate] for the *demos* of the Teians. These are the men who were chosen to purchase the land:

[...]s the son of Epitimidos and Thersion the son of Phanos.

**19. CIG 3069 (146-133 BCE) Decree of Attalistai in honor of Kraton after his death**

- vac.* ψήφισμα Ἀτταλιστῶν. *vac.*  
γνώμη τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀτταλιστῶν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ <ἱερ>εὸς  
τῆς συνόδου Κράτων Ζωτίχου ἔν τε τῷ ζῆν  
πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδείξεις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πρὸς  
5 τοὺς Ἀτταλιστὰς εὐνοίας καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκάσ-  
του καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνηγμένων καὶ κε[κρι]-  
μένων τὴν πλείστην ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν, σπου-  
δῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων, καὶ πολλὰ μ<ἐ>ν  
[κα]<λ>ὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῇ συνόδῳ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων  
10 ἐποίησεν ἀποδεχομένων αὐτῶν τὴν τε ἐκείνου  
ἅπαντα τρόπον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εὖνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἡμετ-  
έραν αἴρεσιν καὶ συναγωγὴν ἀξίαν οὔσαν τῆς ἑαυτ-  
ῶν ἐπωνυμίας...

Decree of the *Attalistai*. Proposal of the *koinon* of the *Attalistai*: Whereas the priest of the *synodos*, Kraton son of Zotichos, made many great demonstrations of his goodwill towards the *Attalistai* when he was alive, making the greatest forethought for each one individually and for the whole group of those who have been gathered and chosen by him, in no way lacking zeal and ambition. And (whereas) he arranged many good things and gifts for the *synodos* from the kings, receiving them in accordance with goodwill of that man (the king) in every respect towards them and being worthy of our group's and gathering's name. (Transl. adapted from Strang 2007, 282-3).

**20. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* 53 (Following the Reconstruction of Aneziri 2012, D12, before 158 BCE):<sup>581</sup> Eumenes II's letter to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon***

IC (First Column; towards the bottom)

[.....] τις Α[-----]  
σ[υ]κεχ[ω]ρημέν[-----]  
σ[ει]ν. κα[τ]αξιοῦν δ' ἔμε γράψαι ὅπως ἐὰν ——— ἐν]  
τῇ χώρῃ πανήγ[υριν ——— ἢ ἄλ]-

- 5 λο τι συναλλάσσ[ητε...προεστῶσιν οἱ αἰρεθέντες]  
 ὑφ' ὑμῶμ πανηγυριάρχαι κατά τε τὴν ὑμ[ῶν αὐτῶν]  
 τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐπαγγελίαγ καὶ κα[τὰ τὰ προστάγμα]-  
 τα τῶμ βασιλέων, ἕτερος δὲ μηδεὶς τ[αύτης τῆς]  
 ἀρχῆς ἀντιποῆται. φροντίσαι δὲ ὡσαύτ[ως καὶ περὶ]  
 10 τῶν ἄλλων τῶγ κατακεχωρισμένων ἐν τ[ῷ ψηφίσματι]  
 ὡς καταπλεονεκτούμενων ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' [ἐν οἷς ἡμάρ]-  
 τανε ποιήσιν ἀκόλουθα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Τ[ηῖους προαι]-  
 ρέσει· οἱ δὲ Τηῖοι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀν[αδεξάμε]-  
 νοι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διασαφηθέντ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τ[ῇ πρώ]-  
 15 τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δι' ἧς ἐμφανισάντωμ μο[ι τῶν παρ' ὑ]-  
 μῶμ πρεσβευτῶν ὅτι χειροτόντ[αι — — — — —]

...We have [gr]anted...and that (you?) deem it best (for me to write so that if...) the *paneg[yr]is* in the countryside<sup>582</sup>...[or] anything else with which [you] enter into contract...the panegyriarchs [who are chosen] by you [are in charge] according to your [very own] announcement of the *panegyris* and accor[ding to the ordinances] of the kings, and no one else may lay claim to [that very] office. And that you thought in a similar [way concerning] the other things that have been recorded in [the decree], as if you were being full of yourselves, and you (thought that you) [would am]end these things [in which (the *koinon*?)] failed to act in accordance with my [policy] towards the Teians. And the Teians [having accepted] through a decree the things that were pointed out by me to them in the [first] letter in which, after y[our] envoys had made clear to me that there were elected...

<sup>581</sup> According to Strang (2007, 289), the inscription has been dated to the “middle” of Eumenes’ reign based on letterforms. This would suggest, in broad terms, a date in the 180s to 170s BCE. I prefer to assign a *terminus ante quem* of Eumenes’ death (158 BCE), as I have not seen the stone myself and do not find the narrowed date of much help.

<sup>582</sup> This specification of a “*panegyris* in the *chora*” by Eumenes may imply that the *koinon* celebrated more than one *panegyris* at Teos, though there is no evidence for multiple festivals outside of this inscription. The closest analogy may be the rural and city *Dionysia* celebrated in Athens and Attica from the Classical period.

IIB (Second column; Beginning of Second Column, One course missing above)

[...]ΛΑΙΩΝΛΕ.....ΤΩΝ[— — — — ο]-

[κ]ονομήσασθαι, ἃ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Τηίων, οὐ κοινὴν

[πο]ησαμένων τὴν συντέλειαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ὑμετέ-

5 ραμ μὲν κεκρικότες ἰδίαν, εἰ δέ τι πρὸς τὰς προσ-

όδους συνέτεινε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού-

των συγχώρησιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διειληφότων ἀν-

ήκειν, ὃ καὶ ἦν δίκαιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχερῇ πρὸς τὴν

ἀμφισβήτησιν, ἣν ἐδόκει μοι διάνοιαν ἔχειν καὶ

ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἕκαστα συνσταθῆναι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. τῶν...

[δε — — — — — — — — — —]Φ[— — — — —]Σ[— — — — —]

...to administer; on the other hand, concerning the things from the Teians themselves, they have not made the celebration of this (the *panegyris*) common, but have judged it to be private to you on the one hand, but if anything contributed to the revenues of the *polis* on the other hand, they interpreted that it belongs to themselves according to the agreement concerning such things, which was indeed just. And this is everything with regard to the dispute, which seems to make sense to me and brings together from what cause each thing came about...

IIA (Secod column; One course missing between IIB and IIA)

τοὺς νόμους[. . . . .]ΙΝΣ[. . . . .<sup>ca. 15</sup>. . . . .]ΕΙΣ

τῇμ πρόνοιαμ ποεῖσ[θ]αι πρὸς τ[ὸ διατηρηθῆναι]ι πάν-

τα τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῖς. διοικεῖσθα[ι] δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ

κοινοδίκιον ὥσπερ συνέθεντο πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὀρκίζο-

5 μένων τῶν δικαστῶν ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἔμπροσθεν.

εἰ δὲ προσδεῖται διορθώσεως ὁ ὑπὲρ τούτου νόμος,

καὶ πρότερον ἐτοίμως ἔχειν συνδιορθοῦσθαι, καὶ

νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντα[ς μεθ'] ἡμῶν εὐρεθήσεσθαι

[ἀμέμπτους ὄντας — — — — — — — — — —]

the laws...that they (the Teians) were making preparations towards [maintaining] (these things?) for themselves for all time. And (that they) also administered things according to the *koinodikion* just as they were agreed upon by you (the *technitai*), with the judges swearing an oath according to the same manner as they did before. And if the law concerning this very thing were in need of correction, they were ready beforehand to collaborate in fixing it, and now having done this very thing [with] us they will be found [to be blameless...].

IIC (Second Column; One course between IIA and IIC)

- [— — — — — ]νεως αὐτῶ[ν]  
 [— — — — — ]ΕΙΝ ἐπιβαλλό-  
 [μενα χρήμ]ατ[α . . . . . τ]ῶν ἐγγυητῶν ἢ πρα-  
 [. . . . .]χετω[. . . . . πρὸ τ]ῆς πανηγυρεως ἐν ἄλ-  
 5 [λαις ἡμ]έραις δέ[κα . . . πρασσ]όντων ὧι ἂν τρόπῳ  
 [δύνω]νται, ὅπως μ[ηδεὶς τῶ]μ παραγινομένων ξέ-  
 [νων] εἰς τὴμ πανή[γυριν ἐγκα]λέσας τινὶ τῶν τοιού-  
 τωγ καὶ μὴ τυχ[ῶν τῶν δικαίω]ν ἀπαλλάσσεται, μη-  
 δ' ἢ πανήγυρις κ[ατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέ]ρος διαβάλληται. ἄρ-  
 10 χεῖμ μ[έντο]ι γε τ[οὺς πανη]γυριάρχας αὐτῶν τῶν  
 Διον[υσίων — — — — — ἐν τοῖ]ς περικειμένοις λι-  
 μέσ[ιν εἰς οὓς οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι εἰ]ς τὴμ πανήγυριν κα-  
 θορμ[ίζονται . . . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ] ἐκτὸς χώραι πολυπρα-  
 γμο[νεῖν ὡς καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦς] τῆς πόλεως ἄρχον-  
 15 τας [— — — — — ]κρίνω δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρα-  
 τηγ[οὺς . . . . . τῶν περὶ τὴν παν]ήγυριν οἰκονομουμένων

...their...the [mon]ey pertain[ing to]...of the guarantors or the...[before t]he *pane-  
gyris* within te[n da]ys...[obtaining p]ayment in whatever way they are [able], in or-  
 der that n[one of th]e foreig[ners] who are present at the *pane*[gyris having brought] a  
 charge against any of those men (officials?) may not depart without havin[g justice],  
 and that the *panegyris* not be tarnished ac[cording to this out]come. B[u]t (I have de-  
 cided that) t[he pane]gyriarchs are in charge of the *Dion*[ysia...in th]e surrounding  
 harbor[s into which those arriving a]t the *panegyris* drop anc[hor...and in the] coun-  
 tryside outside (I have decided that) the archons of the *polis* be invol[ved just as (they  
 were) before...] I also judge the *stratēg*[oi...of the] regulators [concerning the  
*pan*]egyris.

IIIB (Third Column; One course missing above)

- [— — — — — τοὺς πανηγυριάρχας ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέ]-  
 ρῶν νόμῳγ καὶ ἐθισμ[ῶμ μόνον συντελεῖν τὴμ]  
 πανήγυριν μὴ ὑπευθύνους [ῶντας τοῖς τῆς]  
 πόλεως, εἰς ἡμ πάρεσιν κε[ιμένοις νόμοις]  
 5 οὐ φαίνεται μοι ἀγνωμονεῖ[ν. περὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ]  
 ὄρκου, ὃμ πρότερον εἴθιστο τ[οὺς δικαστὰς ὁρ]-  
 κίζεσθαι περιέχοντα δικάσ[ειν κατὰ τε τοὺς]  
 νόμους καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τ[ῶμ βασιλέωγ καὶ]  
 τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου κ[ρίνω ὡς καὶ ἐν]  
 10 πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν [— — — — —]



[...(The argument that?) the panegyriarchs undertake alone the] *panegyris* [from you]r laws and customs, [and are] not under liability [to the ordained laws of the] *polis* in which they are present, does not seem to me to be unfair. [And concerning the] oath, according to which before it was customary that t[he judges sw]ear an oath holding to judg[e according to the] laws and letters o[f the kings and] the decrees of the *demos* I ju[dge that even in] many years before...

IIIA (Third column; Below IIIB according to Aneziri's reconstruction (2003, 391-2)).

κας εἰθισμέναις δ' ἀμφοτερ[αῖς οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἐτέ]-  
 ρωγ γενῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τα [— — — —]  
 ταις καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πλείοσιν ἐπί[δοσις ἐτοί]-  
 μη ἀμφοτέροις ἐστὶν ὅμοια καὶ ταῦτα [φαίνον]-  
 5 τὰ τοῖς μὴ ἀπαιδεύτοις. τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ κ[αὶ ἀεὶ]  
 σχεδὸν ἑώρων γεγονὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ [ἡμῶν αἰ]-  
 ρεσιν, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ συνθήκηγ γρα[φῆναι κέκρι]-  
 κα παρ' ἐκ[ατέρων εἰς τὸν συνοικισμὸν [— — — —]  
 [— — — — — —]σταθὲν οἷς ε[— — — — — —]

and with both being accustomed [to dwell with oth]er peoples and in no way less... and there is a lar[gest rea]dy in many other things for both, and these things [appe]ar the same to those who have not been educated. Indeed I have nearly [always] seen this very same thing according to [our] proposal, for which reason I have [decided] that an agreement be wri[itten] by ea[ch side] towards a synoikism...

**21. Sherk 1969 *RDGE* no. 49 (ca. 84 and 81 BCE): Letters from Sulla to the Koans (Side A) and the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon* (Side B)**

Side A (to the Koans)

ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι.

[Λ]εῦκιος Κορνήλιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Σύλλας Ἐπα-  
φρόδειτος δικτάτωρ Κώων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Λαοδικεῖ κι-  
5 θαριστῇ, ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ φίλῳ ἡμε-  
τέρῳ, πρεσβευτῇ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διό-  
[ν]υσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου  
[καὶ τ]ῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον ἐπέτ[ρε]-  
[ψα στήλην] παρ' ὑμεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ ἀναθή-  
10 [σεσθαι ἐν ᾗ] ἀναγραφῆσεται τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένα  
[τοῖς τεχνίταις] φιλάνθρωπα· πρεσβεύσαντος δ[ὲ]  
[νῦν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ῥώμην], τῆς συγκλήτου δὲ δόγμα π[ερὶ]  
[τούτων ψηφισαμένης, ὑμᾶς] οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι ὅπως [ἀπο]-  
[δειχθῇ] παρ' ὑμεῖν τόπος ἐπισ[η]μότατος ἐν ᾧ ἀναθή-  
15 [σεται ἡ στήλη ἢ περὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν]· ὑπογέγραφα δὲ  
[τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ τε δόγματος] τῆς συνκλή-  
[του τὰ ἀντίγραφα — — — — —]ΝΤΩ.

Side B (to the Ionian-Hellespontine *koinon*)

[...]δεῖ σὺν δὲ καὶ ἣν ἔχετε πρὸς [ἡμ]ᾶς [εὖ]νο[ιαν],  
ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω [ἐ]πεγνωκέναι ἐμὲ ἀπὸ συμβο[υ]-  
λίου γνώμης γνώμην ἀποπεφάνθαι, ἃ φιλάνθ[ρ]-  
[ω]πα κα[ὶ] τιμᾶς ἀλειτουργησίας τε ὑμεῖν καταλο-  
5 [γῇ] τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τῆς πο[λι]-  
τείας ὑμῶν χάριτι σύνκλητος ἄρχοντές τε [ἢ ἀν]-  
τάρχοντες ἡμέτεροι ἔδωκαν σ[υνεχώ]-  
ρησαν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἔχετε, καὶ κ[αθὼς καὶ πρὶν]  
πάσης τε λειτουργίας ἀλε[ι]τούργητοι ἦτε]  
10 στρατείας τε, μήτε τινὰ [εἰσφορὰν ἢ δαπά]-  
νας εἰσφέρειτε, μήτε [ἐ]ν[ο]χλεῖσθε ὑπὸ τινος]  
παροχῆς ἕνεκέν τ[ε] καὶ ἐπισταθμείας, μήτε]  
τινὰ δέχεσθ[αι καταλύτην ἐπαναγκάζεσθε].  
ἵνα δὲ καὶ [— — — — —]  
15 [..]IONII[— — — — —]  
ἀναγ[ρ— — — — —]

*Side A (to the Koans):*

Good fortune!

Lucius Cornelius Sulla son of Lucius the Lucky (*Felix*), dictator, to the archons, council, and people of the Koans, greetings. To Alexander of Laodikea, kitharist, a fine and noble man and my friend, and also an ambassador from the *koinon* of artists in the entourage of Dionysos who are in Ionia and the Hellespont and those in the entourage of Dionysos *Kathēgēmōn*, I permit[ted] to set [up a stele] among you in the most distinguished place [on which] there will be inscribed the privileges that have been granted by me [to the *technitai*]. Since [he] has gone as an ambassador [to Rome], and the Senate [has voted] a decree ab[out these things], I therefore want [you] to consider in what way a [mo]st distinguished [place may be indicated by you?], in which [the stele concerning the *technitai* will] be set up. I have subjoined [with my letter the decree of] the sena[te...]

*Side B (to the Isthmian-Nemean koinon):*

...along with, and the [g]oodwi[ll] which you hold towards m[e], I therefore want you to know that I have published the opinion of the opinion council, (that) the Senate and consuls and our magistrates co[nfirm]ed the privil[eg]es an[d h]onors and exemptions from liturgies that they gave to you, out of respe[ct] for Dionysos and the Muses and your *po[li]teia*, in order that you have these things, and j[ust as before you are to be] ex[empt] from every liturgy and conscription, and that you are not to pay any [tax or expendit]ures, nor may you be [disturbed by anyone] for the sake of provisions o[r quarter, nor may you be forced] to receive anyone [as a lodger]...in order that...

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